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RUSSIA

UNDER

NICOLAS THE FIRST.

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Translated from the German.

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BY

CAPTAIN ANTHONY C. STERLING,
73rd REGIMENT.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

Most Englishmen are inclined to interest themselves in foreign politics, and to regard surrounding states with more or less of national suspicion. The popular bugbear of this country for some years past has been Russia; although the distrust and alarm which that vast empire has excited, might, perhaps, with full as much reason, have been directed to quarters not so far from home.

The following papers are by anonymous writers; and are to be found in a Supplement to the well-known Conversations-Lexicon, intitled "Conversations-Lexicon der Gegenwart."

The Translator is not aware of any work which presents so distinct, intelligible, and comprehensive a review of the internal affairs of Russia; and it seems to him advisable, that his countrymen should acquire some more accurate acquaintance than they are now possessed of, with this great mass of organized, or mechanized, humanity—that if the dangers with which it is supposed to threaten England be real, we may be the

better prepared to obviate them; and, if otherwise, we may feel authorized to dismiss, or moderate, our apprehensions. The concentrated power of a military goverment, which can bring to bear, through the impulse of a single will, not impeded or deterred by the slightest domestic opposition, all the resources of an immense territory, and an almost innumerable population, against one or more of its neighbours, for the accomplishment of any aggressive purpose—which can conceal its projects, and watch its opportunities of action—must be considered, in the common course of things, a fair object of jealousy to other states, and of dislike to most free nations.

The wealth, intelligence, individual enterprise, and collective force of England, when once brought into activity, and aimed with cordial and united vigour at any definite end, are immeasurably superior to those of the Muscovite Leviathan. But, on the other hand, the manifold practical obstructions, inseparable from that one paramount blessing of representative government which has for ages been naturalized amongst us, may afford to any absolute prince engaged in warfare with Great Britain, advantages of secrecy, steadiness, and tenacity, in the prosecution of his schemes of political aggrandizement, which a free and sturdy race of men, (every individual of whom enjoys for

his birthright the privilege of embarrassing the government by the unchecked expression of feelings most adverse to its policy), cannot always successfully encounter.

A Russian must pay his taxes without murmuring, and the Imperial Crown has every man's person and property at its own disposal; whereas, when the Englishman begins to feel himself pinched severely by progressive taxation, he simply votes against any given estimate; the sinews of war are cut away by the roots; and war measures are crippled, or peace is forced upon the government, at the most inconvenient and injurious hour. As a general proposition,

therefore, the more popular the civil institutions of a state, the less must be the confidence of its ministers in their prospect of being permitted to carry on a prolonged contest to a successful issue; and the greater, in that one respect, the advantage of a military despotism over a constitutional monarchy of balanced, and sometimes conflicting, powers. The fears entertained of Russia by English politicians have, probably, arisen from some such reflections as the above.

But even in material resources, to say nothing of the moral, England has, within the last forty years, made acquisitions not much inferior to those of Russia. Her Indian

Empire has been, in a manner, created within that brief period of national history. Her colonial possessions and transmarine stations of military and naval defence, have been quadrupled—witness the enlarged appropriations of territory in New Holland—Ceylon—the Mauritius—the Cape—Malta—the Ionian Islands—and, even at this hour, the Settlement of New Zealand. Her fleets and armies have, within the last twelvemonth, shewn themselves as efficient as ever.

There is, at the same time, one element of active force which would be requisite towards placing Great Britain on a

perfect level with the empire of Nicolas the First, but which is manifestly unattainable; and if otherwise, would be too dearly bought: viz. to unite the physical resources of our widely-scattered subject-nations—islands—and colonies—and bend them to obey, systematically and mechanically, for a long course of years, the traditional policy of some great minister or monarch, left as a precious inheritance to his successors, and cherished as the Palladium of the Empire. This, our varied and popular institutions will never render possible; and long may they resist the change! It thence, however, becomes the more desirable, that we should obtain by every means within our reach the

most exact knowledge of the statistics, internal regulations, habits, maxims, and real policy, the strength and weakness, the genius and character of a State, with regard to which public opinion in this country has been so anxiously busied—so little divided; but, perhaps, it may hereafter be acknowledged, so very considerably led astray.

To contribute his humble share towards such a purpose, the Translator has employed a portion of his leave of absence upon the following pages, faithfully, however hastily, rendered into English, from an able work, which for fulness, clearness, and apparent accuracy of information, not elsewhere, so

far as he believes, accessible, deserves the attention of all readers who take a serious interest in the relations between Great Britain and the Russian Empire.

A. C. S.

CLARISFORD, KILLALOE,
Feb. 15, 1841.

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RUSSIA.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory Remarks—Backwardness of Russia in entering on a Career of Improvement—General Observations on the State of the Monarchy—Paul I.—Peter the Great—Nicolas.

UNDER every point of view Russia has been the last of European nations to enter on a career of improvement. She has been obliged to rush through, or to skip over, many degrees of cultivation, in order to march in the same line with her rivals. The wandering Sclavonic, Finnish, and German tribes, in the

boundless plains of Eastern Europe, unceasingly struggling to conquer and oppress, were formed into the nucleus of a baronial and feudal society by the superior power of their military leaders (Boyars) and great landowners (Knaese); but neither time nor circumstances allowed any further civilization. No separation into classes took place, so that three or four estates might counteract one another, and maintain an equal balance of political power, as was the case among the Roman and Teutonic races. Russia had still at this time a very weak Burgher class, and the municipal element had hardly manifested itself. For this reason there arose no monarchy based on estates, such as preceded the absolute monarchies of the rest of Europe, which in turn paved the way for representative constitutions. Here the nation was almost

entirely composed of bondsmen, of noble landlords, and of one Autocrat enthroned far above his widely-spread subjects, and ruling them with an unlimited sway. His mighty power could indeed be arrested and hemmed in by the rough violence of rebellion, but only for the time. The State might be compared to a pyramid, reared by some unskilful architect; the foundation was broad enough, but he had forgotten the granite courses receding tier above tier, while the sharp-pointed summit was run up to a disproportionate height. Russia formed the frontier line between European monarchies and Asiatic despotisms; and as in the latter, so in this empire, even till very recently, revolutions in the palace, and uncertainty in the succession to the throne, have continually occurred, although each ruler in his turn exercised the most

unlimited power. Paul I., in 1797, was the author of an edict which first settled the succession, introduced the law of primogeniture, and gave the preference to male heirs over females. So that even in appropriating this prime distinction between Monarchy and Despotism, Russia remained far behind the general European movement. The ascendancy of European civilization had been sufficiently impressed on the sagacious mind of Peter the Great by his neighbourhood with Poland, more open as that country lay to Western tendencies, and by his conflicts with Sweden, the prototype of German national existence. Still more distinguished for fulness of character than for force of intellect, he sought to guide his people with a master hand towards this object, and to hasten the tardy pace of centuries. But the moral reform-

ation of a country must always be accomplished by slow degrees. He was only able to stamp his nation with the external marks of civilization—to shape it as a tool of European fashion, fit for the grasp of an Autocrat. What seemed the obstacles to this were soon got rid of: the mutinous bands of Strelitzes, as well as the rival empire of the Clergy. By incorporating the spiritual with the temporal power, the Altar became more unconditionally subservient to the Throne in Russia than in any other Christian-European State. Thus Peter realised in the most perfect manner his idea of unlimited and indivisible monarchy. Contemporaneous with Louis XIV. he could also say, "The State! that am I:" but the substance and form of popular existence were widely different in the East and West of Europe.

In order to make the unwieldy mass manageable and docile, it was necessary to subdivide it. But Peter's classification was not so much an organized distinction of parts as a mechanical separation of them. His official hierarchy with its strict gradations, the higher steps of which conferred personal and hereditary nobility, was only a means of increasing the monarchical power, for every promotion rested on the will of the Autocrat; and the hereditary nobility which was aiming at independence, was weakened in two ways: partly by absorbing many of its members in official situations, and partly by extending its privileges to many subordinate government officers, who, in their civic existence, are the mere creatures of the monarch. The class of Burghers was likewise divided, but according to an entirely accidental and superficial scale,

viz. by the amount of fortune. The true intention of these institutions, however, appeared plain enough in fixing the civil position by military rank. As China is a lettered polity, so Russia became a polity of military-clerico mandarines. The whole nation may be considered as a great encamped army, told off by divisions in an unchangeable order, with a commander-in-chief at the head, to whom the mighty multitude yield a blind obedience. By extending the system of ranks founded by Peter the Great, and introducing a new one, in 1832, throughout the Burgher class, the Emperor Nicolas has shewn how much he is bent upon holding fast the idea of a military monarchy. But as Russia from her institutions, and with her Greek Church, remained isolated both from Western Europe and from Asia, it be-

came the leading principle of her home policy, since the days of Peter, to borrow for her use the intelligence of other lands, and to graft it on the various branches of her administration, so as to render more useful both the material and intellectual resources of the nation. This disposition to create a band of foreign, and therefore dependent official dignitaries, by whom the temporary re-actions of obstinate Russianism would be unfelt, continued to be acted on until towards the end of Alexander's reign.

In the contest with France under Napoleon, the national spirit and pride of Russia were aroused; while at the same time a feeling of independence was plainly manifested by the other people of Europe, who had been all deeply wounded in the tenderest

points of their national peculiarities. Then began for the absolute Czar his difficulties in governing the constitutional kingdom of Poland; while the democratic spirit which had convulsed Western Europe, and threatened the existence of absolute monarchies, was distilled through minute channels into the heart of the Russian Empire. Thus was the policy of the Emperor reduced to a mere exclusive fostering of pure Russianism, and to an adoption of the drill-serjeant system. Even Poland was governed by these means; for while the Emperor charged the Diet at Warsaw with factious and obstinate opposition, they met him with the complaint, that he had trampled on their constitution. Nicolas mounted his throne with bloody footsteps. In the midst of his capital he had to suppress an insurrection directed against himself per-

sonally, and the leaders of which, having imbibed the ideas of Western Europe, had forgotten their national hatred, to form an alliance with the Polish conspirators. He had to encounter a second revolution in Poland, which unexpectedly crossed him in the midst of his far-sighted plans, and threatened to break up his gigantic empire. Embittered by these misfortunes, which, from his point of view, seemed the effects of insolent presumption, he pursued with double resolution the impulses given by Alexander. This was shewn in his internal policy, by a more rigorous exclusion of all foreign tendencies, and by endeavouring to nationalize whatever heterogeneous elements still remained within the wide boundaries of his dominions. The German names began to disappear from the army. It was definitively ordered, that, after

1840, no foreigner should be either captain or mate of a Russian merchant-vessel. This encouragement of nationality did not indeed go the length of despising all foreign aid and foreign intellect, where they might conduce to the expansion of the material and moral energies of the people; but the foreigners employed were required to submit themselves more than formerly to Russian habits; and intercourse with other countries was much obstructed, where it was not necessary for the attainment of some obvious advantage. That this was the case is seen from the enactment of new laws and prohibitions, and also from the more strict enforcement of the old ones. Accordingly, permission to reside abroad was readily granted to merchants and to pupils of the academies, or to engineer officers, while the immigration of

foreign artisans, who were indispensable, was greatly favoured; on the other hand, the employment of foreign masters, or governesses, was prevented as much as possible, and the nobility were not permitted to remain abroad more than five years, and then only by express leave from the Emperor. This last order shews a good deal of political foresight; for, as far as one can judge, it is the nobility who are likely, from their circumstances, to form the first organized opposition. This is particularly true of the nobles serving in the army, who would feel more acutely their brilliant slavery, from the notion of personal independence which is inspired by arms, and who could more freely expatiate on their views and objects in the confidential circle of their comrades.

Perhaps to Russian statesmen, the protracted war in Circassia may seem a convenient safety-valve for these turbulent spirits. A new regulation for 1840 shews how long a reach the Emperor has over his subjects residing abroad; for by it one of the members of the embassy at Rome is appointed a sort of Inspector over the Russian artists studying there.

CHAPTER II.

The modern internal History of Russia—Continual Journeyings of the Monarch—Reprimand and Dismissal of Officers—Peculation of official Persons—Speech of Nicolas to the Deputies of Warsaw—His Attention to Lord Durham, the English Ambassador—His second Visit to Warsaw—Accidents on his Journeys—Burning of the Winter Palace—Building of a new one, &c.

Let us now consider the recent internal history of Russia, and observe her long and firm steps upon the path which she has deliberately marked out.

When the Emperor Nicolas came to the throne, he brought with him a strong will, and a mind full of activity. As far as possible, he has maintained himself the Autocrat

of this enormous empire. Driven by the necessity of seeing things with his own eyes, he spends a great portion of his time on the wing, in rapid journeys through the Provinces. This mobility seems to be characteristic, not indeed of Nicolas alone, but of the nature of his government, which places it in prominent opposition to the calmness with which the heads of constitutional monarchies repose in their seats of government. In these latter countries, the will and the might of a national mind is developed in a thousand forms of usefulness and beauty, itself giving the rules and the true direction for the march of the commonwealth; but in the Russian empire, where the wants and wishes of a whole people are shut up in the breast of one man, he must himself be present to rouse this moral corpse into a convulsive movement,

which his fancy may mistake for vitality. In truth, this personal inspection of an empire is but a paltry substitute for the watchful control of an unshackled press, for the all-pervading presence of an enlightened public opinion: wherefore, in his last journeys, the Emperor has frequently shewn displeasure at the conduct of his officers, and found occasion to reprehend and punish them. When the army of Bessarabia was reviewed at Wossnesensk in 1837, many crimes were discovered, which led to a great change among the guilty persons. Two Major-Generals were dismissed on the accusation of planning an insurrection; and even Lieutenant-General Muraview, a commandant, and aide-de-camp to the Emperor. In the same year, he discovered much embezzlement and oppression in Georgia and Grusia; in Baku

the irritated people had refused to pay the taxes. Governor-General von Rosen got a hint to send in his resignation; his son-in-law, Dadianow, was cashiered for neglecting his regiment and sacrificing it, by peculation, to his own profit. Lieutenant-General Golowin succeeded Rosen; and a temporary Council of Government was named for the Trans-Caucasian provinces, in 1838: it sat at Tiflis, and investigated the disorders in every part of the administration. Similar measures became necessary in other places. But the change of persons and of policy did not always cure the disease: the proverb, "God is too high, and the Czar too distant," was still found true. In Russia, as is more or less the case in all absolute governments, the officials are venal, insolent, and arbitrary. Venality in particular is almost a necessary evil, where

the surface is large and the population thin and needy, as the officials must be numerous in proportion to the extent of a country, while they will, of course, be but ill remunerated for their services. Neither the habit of blind obedience, nor attachment to the Emperor and the Empire, nor even their own national pride, have been sufficient to banish this vice, which has been the evil genius of Russia, and has often annihilated the effect of her exertions in moments of the most imminent peril.

In 1835, when the Polish Rebellion was over, the Emperor made his first appearance in humbled Warsaw, on his return from a diplomatic Congress at Teplitz; his aspect resembled some ominous meteor, that foretold no serene future. "If you obstinately persist

in your dreams of a separate nationality, of Polish independence, and such chimeras," said Nicolas to the Deputies of the city on the 16th October, "you will only prepare your own destruction." I have built a citadel * here; and I declare to you, that on the first disturbance, I will level your city with the ground." These words express the resentment of a ruler whose prerogative had been deeply outraged. And yet but a few decades have elapsed since the country was first divided! Thus vanished the independence of Poland, which was guaranteed by the Congress of Vienna; and the Russian guns were an ex-

* In that citadel, which was built with a forced Polish loan, there was uncovered, on the 1st December, 1839, a cast-iron obelisk, erected to the memory of Alexander, which bore as an inscription,—"Alexander the First, Conqueror and Benefactor of the Poles!"

pressive answer to the liberal flourishes of French and English orators. After making this remarkable speech, which struck all Europe with amazement, and perhaps was designedly published, the Emperor pursued his journey, to inspect the military colonies. He received the English ambassador, Lord Durham, in the most friendly manner at Kiew, and so gained upon him by his winning manners, that the radical Lord declared on his return to England, on the 1st March, 1838, in a speech at a public meeting, "that he had not been able to discover a trace of hostility to England in the sentiments of the Emperor Nicolas."

Every following year found the Emperor reviewing his troops and examining the public establishments, either in the home provin-

ces, or in the south or west of his Empire. He was at Odessa in the autumn of 1837, where the plague broke out on the 2nd November, shortly after his departure. Strong measures were ordered to check its progress; and although they were not strictly enforced, the town was re-opened for commerce on the 7th January, 1838. From Odessa the monarch proceeded to Sebastopol, and thence to the Circassian coast and over the Caucasus, into the heart of Georgia and Grusia, to Tiflis and Erivan, where he received the compliments of a Persian embassy, on the 17th October, 1837. In the spring of 1838, during the devastating floods, which also did much injury in some of the southern provinces, the Emperor again visited wretched Poland. On his second journey to Germany, at midnight (29th June, 1838), he

drove into Warsaw. The town was illuminated with lamps, which the anxious authorities had ordered to be placed in every window, under a penalty of thirty guldens (about 2*l.* 10*s.*) He was pleased with the progress in an institution for Governesses, where he himself directed the examinations of the girls in the Russian language and history. At Modlin he found a fortress completed, which he thought would insure for the future the Russianism of Poland. To practise his troops, he made them exhibit a mock-storming of the citadel, and gave the citizens of Warsaw an image of the destruction which could be from thence inflicted on their city. He hoped, by extending his journeys beyond his own frontiers, to assist with his presence the exertions of Russian diplomacy; to increase by his generosity the number of his grateful adherents,

and to revive old friendships, or establish new ones, by his magnificence, and by the influence of his captivating manners.

During his two visits to Germany, like another Napoleon, he collected around him some branches of the Imperial Family, and numerous Dukes and Princes; and repaid their courtesy by visiting several of the German courts. To shew his sense of the friendly reception he met with at Berlin and from his royal father-in-law, he sent a battery of twelve pounders, with Russian gunners, as a present suitable to Prussian taste. Diplomatic consultations were not wanting to diversify the brilliant succession of courtly and military festivals at Teplitz, for they were attended by the Russian ambassadors from Vienna, Paris, and some other places; and the Mini-

sters for Foreign Affairs of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, were assembled there together.

On his first return from Berlin to Petersburg the Emperor had surprised old King John of Sweden, by visiting him at Stockholm. The Czar paid his respects to the son of the French Revolution. At that time there was a report that Sweden was becoming more favourable to Russian policy, and this was borne out by a renewal of the commercial treaty between the two states. In the year 1840 the Emperor attended the deathbed of his father-in-law, the King of Prussia.

Many people thought that these rapid journeys were intended not more to surprise others than to avoid being surprised himself. At least in 1837, rumours were rife in Paris

and London of a regicide conspiracy, and that Polish emigrants were endeavouring to smuggle themselves into Russia and Poland, for the purpose of executing such a scheme. Indeed, at the time of the camp at Kalisch, similar groundless reports were current; in spite of which, Nicolas shewed himself more openly to the people of Warsaw, whose blood he had spilt so freely, than Louis Philippe dared to do in Paris, where the revolution had called him to the throne. If, however, history has not to record any attempts on the Emperor's life, either by the dagger or pistol of a fanatic, still, during his whirlwind expeditions, he often was exposed to other dangers. The overturn of his carriage near Tschembar, on the night of the 6th September, 1836, when his collar-bone was broken, obliged him to shorten his journey

through the home provinces, in order to return to Petersburg. A similar accident threatened him and the Empress on the 23rd May, 1839, near the capital; but it was averted by the self-devotion of two officers of his guard. Fate seemed to persecute him with unrelenting virulence in every venture, whether on the stormy Baltic, when he and his family were obliged to land at Reval, in October, 1838, in the fire on the railroad to Czarkoe-selo, or the burning of his great steamer the Nicolas the First, by which most important papers were destroyed. But the abyss which yawns near every earthly dignity, was never more ominously disclosed than by the flames which consumed the Winter Palace, the habitation of four thousand persons. It burned for thirty hours, and left nothing but a heap of ashes on the site of the

most splendid pile which had been raised in Europe since the palaces of Imperial Rome. The commission for ascertaining the cause of the fire, reported that it arose from an impediment in the apparatus for heating the air, and commenced when the Emperor and his family were at the theatre. The damage was estimated at thirteen millions of guldens (about £1,080,000). Thirteen lives were lost. Nearly all the furniture, and all the works of art were saved. The raging element seemed to shew the Emperor's power in a clearer light; for scarcely was the misfortune known, before the nobles and merchants of Petersburg offered millions to re-construct the edifice. But the Emperor thankfully declined their gifts as unnecessary; and thousands of workmen were soon employed in rearing a new palace on the old foundation-walls. It was

ready to be consecrated on the 7th April, 1839, and the traditional forms of ancient usage were repeated in more magnificent chambers, and with greater splendour. Some odd particulars of these old customs are related in Lord Londonderry's "Recollections of a Tour in the North of Europe," (London, 1836-37). We there learn that the Imperial family only tasted in private the delights of an easy familiar intercourse: when the curtain drew up, and majesty appeared upon the scene, ceremony reigned triumphant over the oriental show. On these occasions, as for instance at the annual consecration of the waters of the Neva, the Emperor himself becomes the sworn slave of etiquette. This is true at the courts of all unlimited monarchs. To rule by the force of custom, you must bow yourself to the same power. But the Rus-

sian has a peculiar character, from the union of the ecclesiastical and temporal authority, which in some degree has brought about a connexion between the ceremonies. The calculations of dexterous policy are very evident. A poor and rude people are to feel reverence for grandeur and wealth, but they must not be irritated or embittered by comparing them with their own misery.

CHAPTER III.

Account of the Royal Family, and its connexions by Marriage—Power and Proceedings of the Emperor—Change in the Administrative and Diplomatic Departments—Completion of Collections of Laws, called Swods—Swod relating to Civil Rights and Public Justice—Swod relating to Military Matters—Ukases—Annual Official Returns—State of Trade, &c.—Condition of the Peasantry, Schools and Universities—Settlements of Foreign Colonists—Jews—Russian Manufactures—Smuggling—Facilities for commercial intercourse—Water-works, Railways, &c.

THE connexions of the Imperial Family were increased by the marriage of the Arch-Duchess Maria, the Emperor's eldest daughter, with the Duke Maximilian of Leuchtenberg, which was solemnized on the 14th July, 1839. She had a portion of one million of ru-

bles, (about £44,000), and a yearly allowance of six hundred thousand, (about £26,000), which was a larger sum than the organization law had established. The Duke received the title of "Imperial Highness," and a permanent establishment in Russia. The heir-apparent, the Grand Duke Alexander, had been spoken of for more than one princess. He was at last betrothed on the 16th April, 1840, during his second German visit, to the Princess Mary of Hesse-Darmstadt, whose acquaintance he had made on his travels in 1838-39, when he performed a five months' tour through Germany, Italy, and England. The marriage was delayed for a year after the betrothal; in the meanwhile, the bride had to adopt the Greek Church instead of her own. The reception into the Imperial Family of a Bonaparte, the step grand-child of Napoleon,

and the brother-in-law of the Swedish Crown-Prince, necessarily excited much remark. The French papers reported that Nicolas received his son-in-law in the ancient city of Moscow with the expression, "that the Bonapartes and Romanoffs might ally with one another, as both had always laboured for the glory and greatness of their country." It was believed in France that this union was a demonstration against the July dynasty, or at least an attempt to prepare weapons against any future difficulties. The Bonapartists filled themselves with fond hopes at an occurrence, which can scarcely indicate anything else than that Russia felt herself placed on a proud and sure basis, from whence she could maintain her absolutism without being obliged to cling anxiously to the rotten twigs of the principle of legitimacy.

The Emperor Nicolas has shewn himself, since his accession, to be altogether a Russian. His will has energy enough to suppress any contest between Muscovitish and German objects and interests, although he reposes most confidence in three Germans—Nesselrode, Cancrin, and Benkendorf. The last of these is charged with the Police of the Empire, and with the personal security of the Emperor. Nicolas himself is the head of all the highest State departments: he presides over the five divisions of the Imperial Council, over the directing Senate, and over the holy Synod and Imperial Ministry. Very lately he organized a general control over both Senate and Ministry, to be worked under his own inspection: so that he has made it more certain than ever, that none of the strings of power can be pulled, except by his own Imperial hand.

As every thing in Russia depends on the will of one person, which cannot be interfered with by the changes and chances of a parliamentary scuffle, we find the same persons remain longer in high situations, than is the case usually in constitutional states. However, the death of Speransky, the organizer of Siberia, and President of the Legislative Commission, which took place in February, 1839; the retirement, in 1840, from his Embassy in London, of the Corsican Pozzo di Borgo, Napoleon's constant adversary, as well as the employment, in another manner, of the Minister of Justice Bludoff, who was replaced in 1840 by Count Panin—brought on some changes in the higher administrative and diplomatic departments. In the beginning of 1838 they were distributed as follows: The Imperial Household, Prince Wolchonsky; War, Count

Tschernitschew; Foreign Affairs, Count Nesselrode; the Marine, Prince Mentschikoff; the Home Department and the Public Worship of tolerated Religions, at that time Count Bludoff; Public Instruction and Knowledge, Privy Councillor Uwaroff; the Finances, Count Cancrin; and Justice, at that time Privy Councillor Dashkoff, with Count Panin as a coadjutor. Besides them, seats were reserved at the Imperial Council and the Committee of Ministers, for the Directors-General of the Posts, of Buildings, of Imperial Control, as well as for the President of the Committee for the Central Government of Siberia and the Chief of the Legislative Commission. The latter had completed in the beginning of 1833 the "Swod," or a systematic collection of all the laws relative to the rights of citizens, and to most branches of public justice.

The military laws remained to be collected; and this was ordered in the decree of the 31st of January, 1837. This military swod, which embraces all the laws published and still in force since the reign of Peter the Great up to the 1st May, 1838, is now completed, and became law on the 1st of January, 1840.

Thus a work has been produced which will be of the highest importance for the history of Russian civilization: it is a fixed level, below which intelligence cannot fall, and it ensures the possibility of diffusing a true notion of justice. For the more a people becomes aware of its rights, the more sensible will it be of every attack upon them, and the more capable of weighing the advantages and disadvantages of all public measures. The establishment of the Swod will favour some

growth, however gradual, of public opinion, and circumstances may render it a weapon for the attainment or the defence of political freedom. The Swod of Civil Laws has been in force since the 1st January, 1835, where it was not at variance with any provincial rights. Nevertheless, the Legislative Commission remained permanently sitting, partly to construct some provincial codes, and also as the supreme authority for interpreting doubtful cases, and for embodying any future ukases. But before the decease of its president, the ukas of the 21st January, 1838, ordered the dissolution of the central Commission for the establishment and security of the Siberian Government, the management of which was now given to the Imperial Council and Government. The working machinery in the Home Department was improved in

1835, by adding to it a separate department for Statistics. A more important change was made in the higher branches of administration by the ukas of the 8th January, 1838, which ordered a particular ministry for the Imperial Domains, at the head of which Kisselew was placed. The object of this regulation was to improve the condition of the Crown serfs, amounting to twenty-one and a-half millions of souls, and to introduce a better system for their taxation.

As the strict system of centralization by which Russia is ruled permits no lively public feeling to be awakened, except at the pleasure of the Government, it necessarily follows that the knowledge of whatever is done through the whole country flows into the same channel. By casting one's eye

over the yearly official returns, a better idea may be gained of the domestic activity and development throughout Russia, than the same documents would supply in other countries: these data may then be compared with similar ones in civilized states. The Russian Government has considered it a grand object of late years to raise material prosperity to the highest pitch. The official estimates make a great parade of the start which production has taken; but there can be no doubt that in Russia agriculture, manufactures and trade are all at a very low ebb, and will bear no comparison in their most improved state with the growth of the same branches of production in more western countries. The condition of the peasants is not materially altered. In 1836 practical schools for agriculture and trade were opened, and in five Imperial uni-

versities the Government founded agricultural lectureships. These measures were, however, by no means intended to raise the intelligence of the labouring classes above a certain point. On the contrary, a remarkable edict of the 21st May, 1837, requires stricter attention to the previous laws, which restrained the serfs to an education in the inferior district and parochial schools, but forbade their admission to the practical schools or to those of the higher sciences, because this would be a dangerous mixture of different classes, and would produce a too glaring contrast between their civic rights and intellectual powers*.

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* On a similar principle, the schools for mutual instruction, which Alexander established in the different regiments, have now been abandoned.

The Government had formerly encouraged in every way the settlement of foreign colonists, both for the sake of introducing a better agriculture, and for the increase of population. In Southern Russia, whither the emigrants were mostly conducted, in 1836 there existed no less than four hundred and eighteen German, Bulgarian, Jewish and Greek colonies, amounting altogether to about two hundred and sixty-three thousand persons. But since the policy of Russianizing the country has been acted on, the emigrants are offered no peculiar facilities, though at the same time no obstacles have been purposely opposed to them. The wish now is, that the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes should be more and more bound to the soil, and that the industry of the great Jewish population in the Western Provinces should be turned to agricultural pursuits.

The ukas of the 13th April, 1835, promises most important privileges and advantages to any Jews who would cultivate unreclaimed lands in certain governments which were named. An ordinance of September, 1839, lays down some further regulations, both favourable and the reverse, for their social position, and particularly declares them capable of filling communal offices*. The development of manufactures has more need of foreign assistance than any other branch of production. With which view Cockerill, who had already an establishment in Moskow, was invited to Warsaw to set in motion a great manufacturing undertaking; and in 1840 German artisans were sought for, particularly cloth-

* Answering rather to parochial than municipal offices with us.—*Tr.*

makers and curriers, to settle them among the Cossacks on the Don and Wolga. As Russian industry has received this new direction from the Government, its first factories have been erected by the Crown. One remarkable consequence has been, that lately the nobles have shewn a desire to embark in such speculations; so that the great manufactories, properly so called, seem to be passing altogether into their hands. Many nobles have already succeeded, by these means, in clearing off the incumbrances from their vast estates, and so releasing themselves from their dependence on Government and Court favour. The serfs are at once workmen and machines in the factories of the noblemen; which class is thus enabled to organise itself into a twofold aristocracy, at once landed and manufacturing. In other European states the tendencies of agri-

cultural and manufacturing interests, as they advance, lead also to a separation and assignment of them to two different bodies. But in Russia we see, on one side, the monarch owner of immense Crown lands, and proprietor of twenty-one and a-half millions of Crown serfs; on the other, a class of noble landlords, who dispose of twenty-three millions of serfs: they are endeavouring to form a body based on manufacturing industry and wealth; and, from the contact of these two discordant powers, much bad feeling and confusion may be expected to arise.

Some branches of manufacture had, of late years, increased to such an extent, that in 1837 it was decided to moderate a little certain prohibitions and government duties. A later ordinance of the 18th March, 1838, in-

troduced some diminutions in the Customs' tariff. At the same time, measures against smuggling were adopted on the Western frontier, and on the coast of Courland; so that the usual bribing of the Custom-house officers was at least rendered more difficult and more expensive. Much was done to improve and increase commercial intercourse. An ordinance of the 13th July, 1839, but to be generally in force from January, 1840, was intended to settle the currency: it took the silver ruble as a standard, and made it equal to three rubles fifty copecks of Bank assignats. Great water-works were finished or ordered; the Seima river was rendered navigable for two hundred wersts*

* The werst is 1167 English yards; so that three wersts are about two miles English.—*Tr.*

(about one hundred and thirty miles); the navigation of the Dnieper was improved as well as the canals of communication between the Baltic, the Black, and the Caspian Seas. On these waters steamers were started, and their numbers increased; also, on the Dnieper, at Kiew. The railway from Petersburg to Czarkoe-Zelo, projected in 1836, and completed in 1837, was continued to Pawlowsk, and this last portion opened in June, 1838. The Warsaw and Vienna line is now in progress. Towards the end of 1838 the plan for a railway was approved of, which was to connect the capital with the South, running from the important commercial town of Morschansk on the Zna River in the government of Tambon, to the embouchure of that stream. In the same year a commission was named to examine a projected railway

between Petersburg and Moskow. It is also proposed to run a railway from Nischni-novgorod to Orenburg, to facilitate the great Asiatic trade: for this purpose, a mercantile company has been established in those two cities and in Tiflis, which extends its speculations to the south of Asia.

CHAPTER IV.

National Finances and Resources—National Debt—Expense of Army and Navy—Engineering and Artillery Institutions—Discipline—Reviews—Military and Religious Festivals—Russian Commissariat, &c.

If we now turn to the latest accounts of the finances, the military and marine force, and the general national means immediately at the command of the Government, we shall find all these in rapid progress. The Revenue in 1837 was estimated at four hundred millions of paper rubles, (about £17,500,000*),

* It is remarkable that this is considerably less than the Revenue of British India.—*Tr.*

but even this was small in comparison with the incomes of the Western States of Europe. It is significant enough for the Russian finance, that the Royal Distillery, which yields one hundred and sixteen millions of rubles, (about £5,000,000), is the largest item, and this was increased by twenty-five millions a-year, (upwards of £1,000,000), when the Distillery was leased for four years in 1838. In that year a new tobacco duty was decided on. The small National Debt, which in 1786 was only about six millions of silver (about £1,000,000) rubles, had mounted up to nearly nine hundred and forty-one millions of assignats (about £41,000,000) in January, 1838; but in the same year was reduced by sixty-nine millions (about £3,000,000). Besides the expense for dividends and sinking fund one hundred and thirty millions (about £5,650,000),

the greatest demands on the revenue are for the army and fleet, which are estimated respectively at two hundred and at forty millions, (about £8,700,000 and £1,740,000).

These forces are, however, on a very great scale, and there is an immense material in store; besides which, the whole appearance and discipline both of army and navy have recently excited the astonishment of foreign officers, which is attested by the opinions of General Bismark and of the English naval Captain Crawford as well as others. The Emperor has bestowed his own attention and favour on the navy. In 1836 he revived the long-neglected festival in memory of the formation of the Russian marine power, by a solemn exhibition of the boat of Peter I., which was called, "The Grandfather of the

Russian Navy." In 1839, the pay of naval officers was increased, and no expense was spared to improve their seamanship. Even among the common sailors, a professional spirit has shewn itself, and they emulate other nations, and particularly the British, in all matters relative to the naval service; at the same time, discipline and subordination are enforced by a stern system of punishment, as was shewn by a revolting example in one of the Prussian harbours in the Baltic. But as the severe climate in that sea, and the tempests in the Euxine, prevent the ships from remaining out long enough, a good school of seamanship is still a desideratum.

Some new institutions have also been founded for engineer and artillery officers, particularly that of 1837, at Woronesch, for

four hundred cadets. The whole mass of the military population has been estimated in the last official tables at more than 1,300,000 men. The system of terror, maintained by severe corporal punishment, is not the only moving power of this enormous machine; it has also been attempted to awaken the proud feeling of soldiership, to breathe a soul into the giant body; so that the instinct of obedience may ripen into an enthusiastic principle of action. The military spectacles and the festivals connected with them, which Russia conducts at an extravagant outlay and on the grandest scale, serve for this purpose, as well as to impress Europe by the aspect of such an overwhelming power. These military displays began in 1835 at Kalish, where a body of Prussian troops figured along with the Russian masses. It is credible, as has been af-

firmed by eye-witnesses, that this apparent cordiality only made the difference more sensible which existed between the intelligence and feelings of the two nations, and that the sympathies of the rulers did not extend to their troops. In the same year the Emperor mustered at Orel more than two hundred and seventy-two squadrons of cavalry, and sixteen batteries of horse-artillery. In 1837 he collected near Wossnesensk, (where most of the cavalry of the line is quartered), a mass of forty thousand horsemen, in three hundred and fifty squadrons, with one hundred and sixty-four pieces of horse-artillery. Among these there were twenty-four squadrons and three batteries, composed of boys from twelve to seventeen years old, from the military colonies. To these youths were united twenty-eight battalions of veterans, of twenty or more

years' service. Two thousand musicians and five thousand singers from the colonies executed choruses. Many states of Europe were represented in the camp, but neither the French nor the English ambassador appeared. A more curious sight was the great military and religious festival, in memory of the battle of Borodino, at the end of August and the beginning of September, 1839. An army of one hundred and twenty thousand men was brought into position at the three principal reviews. On the 7th September, the roar of seven hundred and ninety-two guns announced the consecration of the monument which was erected on the field of battle. But even this game of war was not without victims, for one hundred and forty men were killed or wounded during the manœuvre. Besides these extraordinary concentrations,

every May a review of from forty to sixty thousand guards takes place in the Champ de Mars, at Petersburg. Such is the scale of Russian field-days! But it can scarcely be persisted in, without awakening a passion for war, which will sooner or later seek to gratify itself.

Some great fortresses have at the same time been constructed between the Vistula and the Bug, partly as Bastiles for Poland, and partly to protect the most assailable side of the empire. The Tête du Pont at Dünaburg is represented as a gigantic fortification, a single trace, which will contain twenty thousand men.

It must be observed, that such an immense army is not without internal and external crimes. The sentence of a court-martial in

1838, convicting several generals of cavalry regiments, quartered on the Bug, of extortion from the year 1820 to 1827, leads one to suspect the general conduct of the Commissariat, as these officers were pardoned "because they had only acted so, to relieve the pressing necessities of their men." Reports were even current, although unconfirmed, relative to the military conspiracy in the Geismar Corps d'Armee, which led to the dismissal of its commander. It seems, however, to be true that during the judicial inquiry as to the Pole Konarski and his fellow-conspirators, in the Autumn of 1839, some officers at Wilna shewed an imprudent sympathy with that unfortunate man, and disobeyed orders by indulging the prisoners. The consequence was, the dismissal of the Commandant and Town-Major of Wilna, and the arrest of some officers who

were thence transferred to the Caucasian lines. It was afterwards maintained that the existence of political views among the officers was the cause of the commandant's dismissal to half-pay. Among other things, it was said, that some of the young officers at Wilna wore rings made of Konarski's fetters, as a token of political recognition.

The navy has hitherto had no opportunity of performing anything; but when one considers how doubtful were the results of Russian attempts in her first campaign against the Turks, and in her conflict with Poland, it brings to mind the remark of Prince Metternich to the French Minister de Mortemart, which the "Portfolio" relates: "You Frenchmen are dazzled; trust to us for that. We have been watching and studying the Rus-

sians for a century,—their power is all show, and more so now than ever." However, they succeeded at last; and a victory, however obtained, usually strengthens the conqueror. At any rate, so much has been done of late years in Russia to increase the military force, and to produce a military spirit, that it is easy to explain and justify the many warning voices which have announced to Europe the dangers to be apprehended from that quarter.

CHAPTER V.

Moral and Spiritual Condition of the Empire—Number of Convicts—Curious Regulation as to acquitted Prisoners—Public Instruction—Important Institution at Kasan—Control of Literature by the Government—Censorship of the Press—Poetry—History—Science—Gigantic Buildings—General Remarks on the Intellectual and Political State of Russia—Efforts to Perpetuate the Russian Language.

THE last reports of the Ministers of Justice and of Public Instruction give valuable details on the moral and spiritual development of the empire. The report of the first, for the year 1834, shews that, in proportion to population, there is a far smaller number of condemnations in Russia than in France. However, it is well known that the criminal

returns in Russia are not very accurately kept; besides, most of the crimes of the great body of serfs are not publicly punished, while the thinly-peopled expanses of the empire facilitate concealment. The belief in the superiority of Russian morals over those of Western Europe will be still more shaken when we reflect that, according to a rough estimate, the four Governments of Siberia contain about one hundred thousand convicts, many of whom, however, are for political offences; and the Governor of Siberia, Count Stepanow, declares that, during the ten years from 1825 to 1835, not less than one hundred and twenty thousand individuals have been banished thither. In the year 1836, convict colonies for agricultural purposes were established in Siberia, to the amount of six thousand persons. An edict, characteristic of Rus-

sian justice, was published in 1837, by which prisoners, who were acquitted for want of proof, were returned to their communes in charge of the police; but the communes might refuse to receive more than one-third of the number; in which case, the others were sent to Siberia. The rack is still in use as a means of examination, if we are to believe the statements of the newspapers. The communications in the official reports of the Minister of Public Instruction and Improvement deserve peculiar attention, especially since 1832, when Uwaroff was placed at its head, and introduced greater activity into its operations. In Western Europe, education had been developed and fostered by a clergy who sprang from and belonged to the nation; and, in consequence, the system of popular schools has been universally diffused. But in Russia

it is entirely an affair of Government, and only calculated to meet the wants of the public service, so that it is not surprising that the higher branches of education should have been encouraged, to the neglect of the lower. At the beginning, indeed, of this century, there was only one university and two scientific institutes in the country, viz. at Moscow, Wilna, and Dorpat; but since that date, five more universities have been founded, as well as some academies, and a good many lyceums, schools for the nobility, and gymnasiums. In 1836, a new statute was enacted for the Academy of Sciences at Petersburg. At Kasan an Institute for the Oriental languages has been erected: its object is comprehensive, and of the highest political importance. As the Minister expresses it—"This Institute will some time or other unite the inhabitants of

two quarters of the globe." In some of the other universities, and even in some of the gymnasiums, the same object has been aimed at, by founding lectureships on the Asiatic languages. But the instruction of the mass of the people is in a miserable state. With the exception of Poland, Finnland, and the Caucasus, the proportion of learners to the whole population in 1838, was as one to two hundred and ten; and the increase of, at the utmost, five thousand scholars per annum, is no very brilliant result. To encourage the educational body, the teachers of the middle and upper schools have been raised into a higher rank in the public service; and a general economical fund has been set apart for the whole civil establishment of instruction, so as to complete the centralization of the scholastic system, and to place in

the hands of the Minister a still greater power than he already possessed. For fear the pupils in the upper and middle schools should swerve from the line of study suited to the Government, a very close watch has been kept over them; their examinations are rendered more severe, and they have been confined as much as possible to particular schools and boarding-houses. All the movements of literature and science depend, in Russia, directly on the will of the supreme power.

The censorship, principally on foreign works, has become more strict of late years. The number of censors for foreign journals sent to Petersburg is now six instead of seven, and the control over books introduced at Archangel, has been regulated in the minutest de-

tail. Even the small number of foreign papers which are admitted, are castrated when they pass the censorship, by covering the obnoxious passages with black paint, which operation is frequently performed even on the Prussian State Gazette. The principal indigenous journals are published by the Government, and the so-called independent press, belonging to private persons, is obliged to follow their lead. In 1837, it was proposed to start some new papers; but the Government did not think it advisable to increase the number, declaring that there was already a sufficiency. However, some non-political journals were afterwards allowed. Poetry has been suffered to expand its wings most freely; as its flight has of late taken the direction of an exclusive national enthusiasm, which was the aim of the Government. An Imperial decree of 1838,

has conferred a decoration upon Kryloff, the author of the Fables, with an express acknowledgment of his "true Russian spirit." It has, however, been remarked, that this kind of mental product has been retreating day by day before solid prose; and Russia, which at the beginning of this century had no original works on her own history or on the higher matters of study, can now shew both historical and political writings, characterised by a positive and downright earnestness. The Academy of Sciences under the control of the Government, exercises a more comprehensive centralization than any other establishment of the kind in Europe; it gives the impulse and direction to many scientific operations undertaken by naturalists and geographers, and the Government contributes liberally to their expense. Finally, some buildings of gigantic

conception, the only works of art which have hitherto been attempted, owe their origin to the Government. The Isaacs Church is the greatest; its completion is expected in 1841. This monument of self-conscious vitality in Russo-Greek Christianity is on the same scale of vast proportions as St. Peter's, and may vie with that stupendous work of Romanism.

Thus on every side the highest State dignitaries are the essentially active and moving powers. The mass they rule is still devoid of all inward life, and moves with no freedom, except afar from the eye of the Government, in private stations and the lowest forms of society, and here only on condition of never swerving from the appointed path, and of suffering all invasions from above with patient silence. The ruling principle of Rus-

sian domestic policy is to level every thing to the one type of the Russian Nationality, and the Greek Church: its efforts are most clearly traced in the department of Public Instruction, where indeed the means for attaining this object are chiefly to be found. "In order that an empire so colossal may work harmoniously," says Uwaroff, in one of his last Reports, "that parts of such manifold variety, though preserving, when possible, their own local peculiarities, may be fused into a whole, it is indispensably requisite to establish one language and one form of administration for all." The very attempts at conversion to the State Religion shew clearly what pains have been taken to fix the power and the future welfare of Russia on the three foundation-stones of absolute monarchy, Russo-Sclavonic Nationality, and orthodox Greek

Christianity. One advance may be considered to have been made by the Ukases of 1836 for the civilization of the Calmucks. It is more doubtful if the "Constitution" conferred upon the Don Cossacks has been an improvement, although they themselves profess to be well contented with the new state of things. Their free patriarchal commonwealth has been organized after the Great-Russian scheme, and themselves classed on the Russian scale of rank. The plan of macadamizing men may be beneficial in the Asiatic provinces where it raises their level, but in the same proportion it will lower that level on the German frontier, if applied to the more civilized people dwelling there. This policy has been exhibited in its naked ruthlessness towards the Poles, among whom self-interest most strongly urged it, and who seemed to

have the weakest claim for mercy. But through the long vistas of futurity a doubt may be divined whether the haste in denationalizing Poland has secured real speed; whether the interpositions of a higher justice may not produce results which political cunning is little prepared for.

Russianism is making its advances with more carefully-measured steps in the German Baltic provinces, while Finland is treated more unceremoniously, or at least has as yet shewn no very decided repugnance to the Russifying process. The German leaven is nearly worked out in Ingermanland and Carelia, which were considered by Peter the Great to be reconquered provinces; but Livonia and Esthonia, which were transferred to Russia, by the capitulation of Riga, and

the treaty of Mystadt, (1710 and 1721), were guaranteed the continuance of their German institutions. Courland, placed unconditionally under the rule of Catherine II. by the spontaneous act of a deputation of nobles, retained in the main its previous institutions, and was placed on an equality with the other two provinces. For instance, the Lutheran religion and the German language were secured to them; also the ancient constitution of Estates and Nobles, by which the latter retained in their own hands most of the offices of justice and of administration, and in addition, certain franchises as to taxes, customs, duties, and levies of soldiers. The last privileges have long been nearly extinct; and although the constitution of the courts of justice continue nominally German, yet as the administration has been essentially Russian,

by degrees an opening has been made for Russian venality, and for the claims of Russians to an equal participation with the natives in the sweets of place and power. The temporary introduction of the Russian town-organization and form of government seemed to threaten the German institutions with annihilation; but they were restored by Paul in 1797. Alexander and Nicolas have also promised to maintain them, while the so-called national Russian party carrys on its petty war of intrigues for their destruction, and with more or less success. This party has latterly been very active in the Baltic provinces, and has caused deep indignation there. The political position of these provinces having been secured by treaty, they are on a very different footing from that of Alsace towards France, even if we overlook the fact, that France and Ger-

many are much more nearly on the same level of civilization than Germany and Russia. However, the compulsory study of the Russian tongue has been ordered; which appears the more irritating, as, in the present legal state of things, supposing it to continue, that language is by no means necessary; so that one may fear the intention to be, that the Baltic provinces shall be gradually lowered to the Russian standard of society. This suspicion has not been dissipated by the declaration of the Minister of Instruction, "that Government had been anxious to naturalize the Russian language and habits in the Baltic provinces, without having the slightest idea of preventing the development of those studies which the peculiar situation of the country permitted to be pursued." They took tolerably drastic means to effect this naturalization.

In the district at Dorpat, all boys who have not been grounded in Russian, are to be excluded from the Gymnasiums, and even from the country schools; no student who is not fundamentally acquainted with Russian, is to be admitted at the University of Dorpat, which was founded by Alexander, for teaching and extending a knowledge of German literature and science; in the same college, for the future, all vacant Professorships are to be filled up by the Minister of Instruction, independently of the election of the University: finally, after 1840, no person from the Baltic provinces shall receive an appointment as teacher in any school or college within "the Russian empire" who cannot shew a competent knowledge of the Russian language. The "Swod" has not been actually published, as the code for the Baltic pro-

vinces; but the commission employed to form provincial codes, was directed to clip their own German common law, till it fits into the Russian statutes. The operations of this commission did not quite satisfy the notions of the higher powers; so Speransky announced, in 1838, that the Code would be enacted by an ordinance, and would not be previously submitted to the provincial assemblies. The nobility of the three provinces resisted this, and their complaints were taken into consideration by the Emperor. But where a state official placed so near the source of supreme power, ventures on such manifesto of his will, we may fairly conclude, that the German rights can have but a brief duration.

CHAPTER VI.

Religion—War of the Greek *against the* Roman *Catholic Religion—Mixed Marriages—Imprisonment of a Bishop for refusing to publish in his Church an Imperial Edict—Plans for the Extension of the Greek Church.*

THE spirit of the Russian administration, and its manner of operating, is exemplified by a "Patent" of 1838, which dissolved and prohibited certain moderation-unions, (mässigkeitsvereine), which had been formed in Courland, inasmuch as they could lead to no useful object, and would serve to maintain a sectarian feeling. It has also been resolved to act more strictly on the law, that children of mixed marriages shall be brought up in the

Greek religion, and this confession has been organized by naming a Russian Bishop, in such a manner as to exercise a more rigorous control over the Lutheran Church.

The subjection of Religion to political interest, and the measures to effect that object, have been carried to an extent which will scarcely be credible in the West of Europe. This is seen in its clearest light by the war of conquest now going on in the name of the *Greek* Catholic, against the *Roman* Catholic religion. Since the suppression of the Polish rebellion, it has been, and continues to be, the anxious care of the Russian Government to confine Romanism within a narrower pale; and if unable totally to eradicate it, yet to slacken its connexion with Rome, and to bend it to immediate dependence on the power of

the Russian State. As early as 1831, two Ukases were issued against the completion and improvement of Roman Catholic churches, and in the following year many such in Poland were converted to the use of the Greek worship. In like manner, those monasteries which were not taken for secular purposes, became the property of the Greek Church, and it obtained possession of thirteen. Several Bishoprics in Poland were left vacant; and the laws against converting from the Greek to the Romish Church were repeated in 1839, the more effectually to recal people's attention. Even in the head-quarters of Sclavonic Romanism, at Warsaw itself, an imperial edict of the 23rd April, 1840, instituted a school for the clergy of the Greek Church, organized in three classes, and under the jurisdiction of the synod of Petersburg. All direct com-

merce of the Romish clergy with Rome was interdicted, and their communication was only allowed to pass through the Foreign Office. When the Court of Rome began to negotiate on this subject, and complained of the mischievous delays which arose from it, the Russian Government settled all further discussion by recommending that one or more bishops should be empowered to transact the business which had hitherto been referred to his Holiness. Perhaps in naming Bishop Paulowski to be Archbishop of Mohilew and Metropolitan of all Roman Catholic Churches, it was intended to supply them with an organ, whose operation might cause a further separation from Rome. The Government has taken similar steps with regard to the Armenian Catholic Church, whose clergy are in future to be educated at Wilna, in order to

replace those who were formerly instructed by the Romish Propaganda. These measures could not go on without at last causing some reaction here and there among the Romanists. The occurrences in Prussia gave an example, which was imitated by them in the disputes about mixed marriages. Reports had been heard for these two years, relative to the contumacy of the Romish priests in Poland, and their severe punishments. At last it was ascertained that the Bishop of Augustowo, Strawinski, had become the leader of a clerical opposition, and, in conformity with the proceeding of the Archbishop of Gnesen, had published a pastoral letter, in which he forbade his clergy to celebrate mixed marriages at all, even in case of a promise that the children should be brought up Roman Catholics; since that was contrary to the

laws of Russia, and "he would not let the sacrament contravene the law of the land." Soon afterwards, the eight Bishops of Poland were directed to publish in their churches all Imperial edicts, whatever might be their contents. Seven of the Bishops submitted to this. Only the Bishop of Podlachia (Gutkoroski) dared to reply, by explaining the reasons why he could not in conscience obey. He received no answer; but, some weeks after, his house was suddenly surrounded in the night by dragoons, and he was carried off into close custody, in a monastery of the Government of Mohilew. The Russian Government formally notified this measure to the Pope, in May, 1840. The Prussian quarrel was thus acted over again in Russia, and in the Russian fashion; and as Prussia gained, through this occurrence, a powerful ally, in its contest with the Roman

Catholic Church, the arrest of the Bishop of Podlachia must have caused a peculiar excitement when the news arrived at Rome. But these various disputes are trifling, compared with the great event of Russian modern history, viz. the destruction of that religious polity called the Greek-Roman Union, which was a distinct body, intermediate between the two great Churches, but acknowledged by Rome as orthodox. This will be felt in Europe; because all the life of Romanism is thus roused against Russia; because Austria is called on as the champion of Slavonic Romanism; and because, while another rent has been made between Political Absolutism and the Roman Church, the latter is forced to throw itself for support on popular sympathy.

When the result of a long and doubtful

contest between Russia and Poland made the latter country sovereign over the present West Russian provinces, and over Little Russia, the accession of the Greek Catholics to the Roman Church was encouraged in every possible manner. A Union was effected in 1595, on the terms, that, retaining the Greek forms, the Pope should be acknowledged supreme head of the Church. After which a similar union took place in Lithuania, where even threats of violence were employed to introduce some Romish ceremonies into the United Greek Church. The United Greeks of Little Russia returned to the Russian Church, however, in 1653, when their country was reincorporated with Great Russia.

Now, when Poland was divided, and its

Eastern provinces were incorporated in Russia, the Empress Catharine II. employed, for the overthrow of the Union, measures of the same nature as those by which its establishment had been effected. There were plenty of forced conversions; and some whole congregations went over to the Russian national faith. In order to prevent any increase of the United Church, and to leave it no free passage, except to the Greek form, an edict was issued at the same time, prohibiting conversions from the United to the Latin Rite, and also forbidding the subjects of the Imperial Crown to change from the latter communion to the United Greek Church*.

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* It is a general principle, acted on in Russia towards all who are not of the Greek faith, that conversions *to* that Church are allowed, but those *from* it are strictly forbidden.

Since Nicolas came to the throne, the overthrow of the Union has been still further advanced. Under pretence of placing the United Greeks and the Roman Catholics on an equality, he has endeavoured to rend them asunder more widely, by establishing a separate clerical college for the former. Two newly-erected seminaries, and twelve district and parochial institutes, serve above all to

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Even persons who, by any accident, have joined a Greek congregation, and all who have communicated according to the Greek rite, are for ever included in that church. . The repeal of the law, promising a reward to converts to the Greek religion, seems to be in some degree an anomaly in the system of swelling the numbers of the orthodox. Every policy has its inconsistencies, but often they are only so in appearance. A clever politician will wait till he is near enough, before making the decisive spring, which will place him on the high road to his object. Indeed, the Russian policy is accustomed to creep towards a predetermined point by crooked ways.

awaken and to cherish in the secular clergy inclination for the Eastern Church. The seminary for the young clergy of the Union has been placed under the management of the Commission of Orthodox Clerical Schools; and soon afterwards, all the spiritual affairs of the Greek Union were submitted to the Procurator-General of the Holy Synod at Petersburg. These precautions being taken, the official Report of the Minister for the Home Department, on the 7th July, 1837, promised "the immediate and permanent restoration of the rites and constitution of the United Greek Church to their ancient purity, and agreeably to the usage and statutes of the Oriental Church." Before this (1834-37) it had been proposed to substitute the Oriental Church decoration and ritual for the Latin ones, and it had even gone so far, that the outer-side

altars had been destroyed, as well as the few organs which existed, because they were no longer serviceable to the schools established for teaching religious ceremonies and church singing. At last several Bishops, with the clergy attached to them, applied, in the name of their flocks, for admission to the Orthodox Greek faith. At Polozk, on the 12th February, 1839, a Council assembled, at which the Re-union Act was signed by one thousand three hundred and five United Greek bishops and spiritual dignitaries. The signatures afterwards increased up to one thousand six hundred and seven. On this a statute was passed, at the Emperor's command, by the Holy Synod; and it was sanctioned on the 4th April, by the Emperor writing on it with his own hand, "I thank God, and assent to this." A ukas of the

5th July, 1839, announced to the public the accession to the Eastern Greek Church of from three to four millions of United Greeks.

This event was called, in the Papal Allocution, complaining of the apostate bishops and clergy,—the most "bitter and melancholy" one that had ever befallen the Church; while the Russian newspapers announced triumphantly, "that now in truth, with the exception of Lithuania and Samogitia, the main body of the people in the western provinces of the empire had become not only Russian, but Orthodox." This repeal of the Union would indeed have been difficult to effect, had any very decided objection existed to a return into the bosom of the Oriental Church; and we may believe the demi-official assurances of the "Northern Bee," that the connexion

of race and speech between the inhabitants of Great and Little Russia had given rise to an inclination in the latter people for "Mother Church," and a longing to hear the Word of God in the mother tongue. But this inclination was not universal; and it was thought advisable to quicken its progress by the application of some more efficient means than peaceful persuasion. The Papal Allocution alludes to these when it speaks "of threatening the contumacious clergy with the loss of their incomes, or of summoning them before the Upper Courts;" as well as "the persecution and depression under which the Roman Catholic Church had long groaned in every part of the wide Russian Empire." After this an Italian pamphlet was published, no doubt by authority of the Pope, giving a number of documents, explanatory of the oc-

currences in Russia. From this production, it appears, that, as early as 1829, many petitions and protests against forced conversion were presented by United Congregations, and that such attempts had been renewed and aggravated in the latter years of the past decade. In 1834 and 1835, the nobles of Witepsk and of many other places published declarations of grievances; and, if we are to believe their contents, persons persisting in their adherence to the Union were exposed to injury, or even sent to prison. The French paper, "L'Univers," even gives the names of thirty-three Unionist priests, who had suffered for their attachment to the Romish Church: some had only been dismissed from their cures, but others had been imprisoned, transported, or corporally chastised. One of these priests, who had written a work protesting against

this "Union with the Schism," was sentenced to death. Under these circumstances, it is conceivable, that, without having positive proofs of it, the Russians are suspected of endeavouring to convert the Unionist in neighbouring countries; and the peculiar position of four millions of Austrians is pointed to, who belong to the anti-union Greek faith, and acknowledge the Czar as the head of their Church*.

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* The object of the Italian writer, in this part of the pamphlet, is probably to alarm and irritate the Austrian Government on the subject of Russia.—*Tr.*

CHAPTER VII.

Foreign Policy of Russia—Diplomacy—Siberia Proper—Southern Siberia—Circassian War—The Struggle between the Russians and the Poles—Western enterprise of Russia—Moldavia—Wallachia—Suira, &c.

THE character of the home and foreign policy of Russia is essentially the same, one is based upon the other, although the Government is obliged to be more circumspect when a foreign question is under negotiation, than in its conduct towards its own subjects. The able diplomacy of Russia has of late years become proverbial, and at least it cannot be reproached with losing stupidly by the pen what was bravely won by the sword. Na-

ture herself seems to have traced the boundaries of a stupendous empire within the Baltic, the Icy Sea, the Ural Mountains, the Caspian, the Caucassian Range, the Black Sea, and the Carpathians; in the West alone she left it open for the arms and policy of nations to diminish or increase its extent: for Siberia Proper can only be regarded as a wide and waste court-yard attached to the main edifice of the Russian State; but Southern Siberia is capable of improvement, and will probably serve as a base of operations from whence European culture may penetrate into central Asia, which, though now benumbed, is not hopelessly dead. When the Russian power reached the gates of the Caucasus, which were barred against it by the rude and proud independence of the mountain tribes, it could not but feel tempted both to burst through

and to pass round the obstacle. This natural boundary once overcome, the invading power flowed like water down its southern slope.

Catharine II. received the homage of the Princes of Georgia beyond Caucasus; but it was not until 1802 and 1804 that Grusia, Mingrelia, and Imerithia were fully incorporated into the Empire. By the peace of Gulistan, in 1813, Russia gained from Persia the provinces of Daghestan and Schirwan on the Caspian; and by the peace of Turkmantschai, on the 22nd February, 1828, the Persian provinces of Eriwan and Nachitschewan were transferred to her; immediately after which, the last Turkish war gave her possession of Achalzik, Poti, Achalkalaka, and Anapa. The free and vigorous tribes of

the Caucasus still defend themselves against the slavery of a civilization imposed by this "enlightened despotism;" but the Russian armies nearly surround their mountain citadel, which has only one narrow ridge to connect it with the stores of the Euxine. For this reason, Russia calls her war with the Circassians a mere question of internal policy, but Europe attaches a very different value to it. For many a year she has employed her arms and her treasures, and all the arts of a seductive policy, to terminate this contest. She sometimes has succeeded in bribing a petty chief, but the instinct of freedom has not failed to recognise and denounce the traitor, nor his compatriots to destroy or expel him. Russia is bent on surrounding and penetrating the Caucasus with a Russian element; she is anxious to awaken in the moun-

taineers a taste for novelties and a desire for trade, but their independence will be part of the bargain." Thus, on the 22nd October, 1837, the regulations for military colonies on both sides of the Caucasus were approved of, with a view of settling "meritorious soldiers" in these countries, and increasing by such means their Russ population. In the next year it was ordered that the serfs who had been settled by their lords beyond the Kuban, should be purchased from them by Government. At the same time, some new rules were made to facilitate trade with the Highlanders. Urquhart, who was the first Englishman to visit Circassia, having observed how its independence was threatened, induced the people to swear an oath of confederation, and to abjure all commerce with Russia. Nevertheless, the Circassians and Lesghians still

maintained some trading connexions with their enemies, but to no great extent, as the national party has always regained the upper hand. There are only a few tribes of Caucasians who wage the yearly war with Russia; yet all her endeavours have not obtained for her any lasting advantage over them. At this moment (in 1840) the boundary of the hostile people is to the west of the Kuban; the settlers who had been pushed beyond that line, as well as the tribes who favoured them, having either been driven back by the Circassians, or having joined them. The very duration of the conflict has nourished this warlike fire; for Christianity and servitude are become synonymous to these barbarians, who are now fighting enthusiastically for the Koran, although the Circassian religion is a mixture of Christianity and Mahommedanism with the traditions of their

own primitive worship of a God and Nature. Like the character of the war, so are the accounts of it—altogether doubtful and contradictory. During the year 1835, as in each of the following years, there were many victories spoken of in the Russian bulletins; but some reports of their losses were brought into Europe at the same time, as for instance an account of a battle about the middle of that year, in which they were said to have lost a number of prisoners and ten guns...

After this a league defensive and offensive was formed by the different mountain tribes, principally at the instigation of Bell and other Englishmen, who assisted them with supplies of arms and ammunition, conveyed through the Black Sea. To attack this alliance the Russians adopted a new plan. They no longer

endeavoured to penetrate the valleys and ravines of these unconquerable mountains, but turned their efforts to a blockade which should cut the Circassians off from all commerce with Europe; and for this object they hastily constructed forts along the whole coast. These were eight in number, the largest containing about 1500 and the smallest about 800 men. At the beginning of 1837 the Circassians seemed hard pressed. They complained to the British who were among them, that three years had elapsed since Urquhart's departure; that England had deceived them with false hopes; and that they were unprovided with powder and balls: upon which the Englishmen offered to remain with them as hostages. This proposition increased their still existing influence; and the advice of the British Minister at Constantinople

having been given in favour of the measure, the Circassians proceeded to open a negotiation with General Weljaminow, for the purpose of effecting a cessation of hostilities on both sides. In the General's reply, he proclaimed all the Englishmen among the Circassians to be deceivers. He demanded an unconditional submission, asking, "if they did not know, that, were the heavens to fall, Russia had bayonets enough to prop them up." The Circassians defied him both by word and deed. A strong Russian division was routed at the pass of Verdavi on the 29th May, 1837.

The contest with the Lesghiens, on the shores of the Caspian, was of an equally obstinate character. The Russian Lieutenant-General Fäsi obtained some advantages here,

but did not judge it prudent to venture into the interior.

Weljaminow died in 1838, and was succeeded by Rajewski. The Circassian chiefs had decided on a defensive war, and Bell and Longworth reported that they gained many advantages, and one victory at Schuschen, in February 1838. In the May following, however, they lost an obstinate battle against the Russians at the mouth of the river Tuabs, where there was a fort built in addition to the fort on Cape Ardler. After this, the Russians länded to the southward of the Tuabs, and commenced another fort. In the Autumn the Russian shipping was much injured by storms; but the Sebastopol fleet carried off the troops in October from Circassia to their winter quarters, and the cam-

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paign terminated without any further results than the founding of some forts on the Abasian coast. ...

The campaign of 1839 was preceded by a congress of Circassian chiefs; but nothing of any consequence was effected this year, although the Russian army was reinforced, and amounted to 40,000 men. In 1840 it became evident that the Highlanders of Caucasus were acting on an extensive and combined plan, the scheme and the execution of which was arranged by Polish officers and soldiers, some of whom were deserters from the Russians. Although it has not been confirmed, as was at first generally reported, that the whole line of Russian forts had been stormed by the Circassians, and although it is possible that fort Suds-huk Kaleh may be still

in the hands of their enemies, it is nevertheless certain that the resistance to the invaders is more universal and more obstinate than ever, and that, in consequence, the Russians have been driven to increase their efforts, and to send repeated reinforcements. Their constant and considerable losses may be estimated by the advantages held out to those who are willing to serve in the army of the Caucasus. A ukas of the 20th May, 1838, promises to such officers as volunteer for this service, a whole year's pay in advance, double pay during the war, and their travelling expenses. Upon this, there were numerous applications.

This Circassian war, which has been consuming for the last dozen years the best Russian generals and regiments, is no doubt

useful in a military point of view; but it is a very costly school of instruction, and the more zealous the scholars are in pursuing their studies, so much the more severe are their sufferings in the cause. It may be presumed that Russian obstinacy, aided by the inventions of civilization, will ultimately prevail; the wild courage of the untutored mountaineers will be broken, and themselves swept away into the mighty stream of European existence by which they are on all sides surrounded, and against which they set themselves in solitary grandeur, like the giant pinnacles of their own mountains. But the struggle will probably be a long one; and the question, whether it terminate sooner or later, will undoubtedly be important, not only for Asia, but for the future fortunes of Poland and of Europe.

Where gentle uplands and wide plains descend to the west from the Ural Mountains, there a political "Unity," in the large sense of the term, was destined at length to be established. We see, in the course of Russian history, that divisions in this country have always been followed by fresh combinations, and the tendency to found here a great empire has been strikingly shewn. For centuries past there has been a contest between the two most powerful nations that dwelt on this immense field of battle—the Russian and the Pole striving for the mastery. The final turn of fortune—perhaps only for the present—has decided against the latter nation, and has filled them with a deeply rooted hatred of their destroyers.

The sole existing portion of ruined Poland

is now the Royal city of Crakow, with a small domain, still bearing the empty title of independence and freedom, and having her existence guaranteed by three great Powers, the sharers of her spoils. Crakow has since been obliged to submit twice to a military occupation, and in 1837 her constitution was entirely remodelled. As it had been established under the guarantee of all the Powers who took part in the Congress of Vienna, England and France made several protestations against such a proceeding; but they were met by a declaration, that "those arrangements were only temporary." Quite recently the French papers report the British Government to have received an assurance that the three Powers who occupy Crakow will shortly withdraw their troops. There has also been a rumour, which yet is

not altogether accredited, that the most influential burghers of the free city sent a petition in 1839 to the British Government, in which, after many complaints of their constitution being broken through, they demand that a French and English Commission should be sent, for the purpose of restoring and maintaining it on the footing established at the Congress of Vienna.

In her western enterprise, Russia found strong national antipathies to subdue and to watch over; but the north of Turkey, on the contrary, seemed to invite her approaches by a similarity in national and religious feelings. Already we see a chain of states under Russian protection formed from the loosened portions of the Ottoman Empire. Moldavia and Walachia, Servia and Monte-

negro, stretching from the Black Sea to the Adriatic, cut off Austria from the embouchure of the Danube, and interpose between her and the main territory of the Sultan; while Bosnia, principally inhabited by Turks, is also separated from it. These demi-principalities, held under Turkish supremacy, exhibit Russian influence in perpetual activity, now increasing, now diminishing, and waging a constant war with the party opposed to it. This influence is most powerful in Moldavia and Walachia: here the Peace of Adrianople gave Russia the right of confirming, in conjunction with the Sultan, the Hospodar chosen by the Boyars, as well as the legal power of exercising a Protectorate. Nevertheless, during her last war with Turkey, a part of the nobility and people of the two principalities shewed an evident disincli-

nation towards Russia. In 1836 an opposition arose in Moldavia to the establishment of her new constitution, and made serious complaints against the Hospodar: Russia inclined herself towards his party, and immediately marched in her troops; while Russian and Turkish commissaries examined into and decided the dispute. To counterbalance this Russian interference, it is thought that the British Consul, who was appointed to Jassy in the same year, had likewise a part in these movements. However, the Opposition at last threw itself wholly into the arms of Russia; so that the Ministry is now composed of the very three men who led the attack on the Hospodar, and the last address of the General Assembly to that Prince (1840) was perfectly loyal.

In Walachia the parties are still disunited.

The Russian Consul-General there, Baron von Rückman, met with opposition (1837) in the General Assembly at Bukarest, having endeavoured to carry an addition to the organic statute of the Principality, which would have destroyed even the appearance of independence with regard to Russian influence. At his instigation the Prince employed force to dissolve the obstinate General Assembly. As the Consul-General's conduct was not altogether approved of at Petersburg, the sittings were resumed in the Autumn of 1837, their proceedings carried on, and the previous resolutions declared to be valid. But as the matter could not be perfectly settled, the Consul-General contrived to obtain a firman at Constantinople, ordering the Government at Bukarest to sanction without delay the alterations and interpo-

lations proposed by Russia in their organic statute. After the return of the Consul-General to Bukarest, in 1838, he had another sharp fight with the Boyars of the Opposition, and publicly announced his regret that such disorder should occur during his administration. Upon this, new complaints were made by the Opposition; and according to the last reports, the British and French Ministers at Constantinople remonstrated in favour of the Principalities.

Servia, although legally more independent than Moldavia or Walachia, yet, in fact, is not less in the hands of Russia. It was her influence which prevented, in 1835, the introduction of a representative Government, as proposed by Prince Milosch. She, however, afterwards caused a new scheme for a consti-

tution to be sanctioned, and Prince Dolgorucki brought the law for it from Constantinople to Servia. But the Knäse, who formed the senate, were almost without exception in the Russian interest, and the Prince, jealous of his independence, refused to agree to the law; he trusted to defend himself by the people, who were opposed to the nobility, and "who had more need of a good system of schools, than of such a constitution." He was advised and assisted in his stand against Russian policy by Colonel Hodges, at that time English Consul-General in Servia; so that in appearance, although not in reality, England figured as the advocate of absolute power, while Russia protected constitutional opinions.

When the superior weight of the latter

country at length carried the law, and Prince Milosch, by an unsuccessful attempt at a reaction (1839), was precipitated from his throne, a regency was formed entirely of persons in the Russian interest, who guided Milosch's son and successor, Michael. This caused new troubles among the people, which occasioned the dismissal of the members, and the sending of despatches from the Russian Consul to that embassy at Constantinople.

Even the movements in Montenegro, bordering on Austrian Dalmatia, seem to be traced to Russian policy. One heard of continual subsidies from Petersburg to the Vladika, "for the erection of schools and the payment of certain officials." The conduct of a Russian officer, present in Montenegro, but who probably exceeded his instructions, was the

cause of remonstrances." He was called on to answer for his interference, returned with proposals for peace, and put an end to himself soon after (1840) at Petersburg, where, as it appears, he did not receive the reward which he anticipated for his services. We must not omit to remark, that the ratification of the Courts of Constantinople and Petersburg was made one of the conditions of a treaty between the Vladika of Montenegro and the Stadtholders of Bosnia and Herzegowina.

CHAPTER VIII.

Remarks on the System of Russian Policy with reference to Spain and Portugal—France—Italy—German States—Prussia—England—China—General Reflections.

It is the system of Russian policy to keep a watchful eye always directed to the concerns of the great Sclavonic family; she considers herself its head, and interferes, in the smaller States, as if in her own household arrangements; but in her intrigues it must be acknowledged she often finds traces of intervention by the other great Powers. Besides, it is thought, from expressions in some modern literary works, emanating from the Russian

party, that indications have been detected of a wide-spreading plan for rousing the slumbering energies of Sclavonic nationality. But it is hardly to be credited that any systematically arranged project can exist: a tendency, however, to some such object, concealed or open, according to circumstances, and certainly natural enough, may frequently be observed. Nor is it less natural, that the position of Russia with regard to the independent states of the West should have made her the advocate of monarchical absolutism, and led her to join in the struggle for first principles which is now dividing opinions in these countries. While the shock of parties seemed only to threaten at a distance, many combinations were formed contrary to particular interests.

Russian diplomacy has withdrawn itself

from the affairs of Spain and Portugal, which fall within the sphere of the two great western Powers, and only endeavours to maintain the hopes of the Absolutist party by her indirect influence.

Towards France there still exists a degree of bad feeling, which Pozzo di Borgo had already endeavoured to dissipate, as his favourite idea was to renew the alliance between the two countries. In France, some voices were in favour of this; most of them, indeed, the opponents of Louis Philippe's dynasty, but also some, like A. Lefebre, in the Revue des deux Mondes, were of the Ministerial party. The withdrawal, in 1838, of the Hotel, which the Russian Government had assigned for the French Embassy at Petersburg, and a similar step in Paris towards Russia, were considered to be symptoms of a mis-

understanding between the two Cabinets; but the Russian Government anxiously endeavoured to oppose such a notion, by giving the most distinguished reception to the French Ambassador, Barante, from the moment of his arrival in Southern Russia. The regularly recurring declarations of the French Chambers in favour of maintaining the existence of Poland, have as regularly been considered occasions for transmitting notes of remonstrance by the Russian diplomatists. One of these, more pointed than usual, caused the French Minister of Public Instruction to record quite recently his vote in favour of Polish nationality. The entry of the Duke of Leuchtenberg into the Imperial family has also caused some serious thoughts at the Tuileries, and awakened hopes among the Bonapartists, who have ever since exhibited a certain partiality for Russia. The trial of

Crouy Chanel and Durand, which took place afterwards at Paris, gave rise to reports that Russia had been taking a secret part in the quarrels of French factions. Upon which the Russian Minister, Von Medem, demanded, for the justification of his government, that the papers found upon Durand should be published. It was, however, clearly seen, even from the declarations of the Minister himself, that Russia had newspapers in pay both in France and in Germany, in order to publish statements in them.

Far distant Italy is too much in the hands of Austria to allow Russia a hope of playing there any particularly active part. But her dearest interests lead her to turn her political machinery towards the States of the German Confederacy, whose frontiers touch her own, inasmuch as Russia is interposed,

wedge fashion, between those parts of Austria and Prussia which are not included in the Confederacy.

Since the share which Russia took in German affairs in 1803, her influence, only interrupted during Napoleon's reign, has been continually on the increase. After the political disturbances in Germany in 1819, as well as after the July Revolution, and its sympathetic movements, many remarkable Memoirs appeared, for the purpose of supplying the Russo-German feeling with a grave official formula of political faith, and in order to unite the interests of the German dynasties with those of Russia by the ready ties of monarchical-aristocratic opinion, common to both parties. When Kotzebue published his "Literarisches Wochenblatt," and Stourdza

planned and wrote, at the command of a high personage, his "Memoir on the German Universities," all Europe was divided into two hostile camps of political principle, and Russia was ready to take part in the fray, for the sake of monarchical opinions. But it became afterwards evident that Austria and Prussia were pursuing an independent policy, which did not always agree with that of Russia; from which we can understand why the Russian "Memoir," printed in the "Portfolio," and whose authenticity is scarcely doubted, endeavoured, in discussing the present state and future prospects of Germany, to set the small states of the Confederacy in opposition to Austria as well as to Prussia, and to instil into them in this manner an idea of the necessity and expediency of a Russian alliance.

The editor of the "Portfolio" seems to think that this "Memoir" was probably prepared in 1833, and published in the following year; that it was written under the eye of a Russian Minister, and communicated confidentially to several German governments. The author of the "European Pentarchy" (Leipzig, 1839,) has had the same object in view. Although we cannot estimate the impression made by such insinuations on the different Courts, it is however certain, that in spite of the ingenuity and genius with which the "Pentarchy" abounds, the sentiments of the German people have not been conciliated; but, on the contrary, their lively disinclination towards Russia is becoming daily more apparent. The latter country, therefore, is in no position to propagate her opinions among the nations, although she may do so at the Courts of Europe.

But however anxious Russia may be to come forward as the champion of legitimate dynasties, she has never been inclined to sacrifice to the powers who agree with her in principle any advantage which her own empire either apparently or really possesses. This is clearly exemplified in the line of commercial policy which has been adopted by Russia against her ancient ally, Prussia, although the two royal families are so nearly connected. This may be partly the reason for shutting up Poland both from foreign countries and from Russia itself, in order that the positive inconveniences thus produced may convince the Poles that "it is a good thing to be altogether Russian." The commercial treaty which was concluded on liberal principles between Prussia and Russia on the 3rd May 1815, was rejected by the latter, on account

of difficulties in its practical execution. An agreement between them, which was to last for nine years from the 11th March 1825, and which contained many restrictions, not having been renewed in 1834, the freer principles of that of the 3rd May ought, according to the treaty itself, to have served as a rule for the future. But since that period, and principally since the termination of the Polish rebellion, new restrictions and increased duties have been imposed, so that the Eastern Prussian provinces are daily sinking into a worse position. Besides, Russia seems to be endeavouring, as far as in her lies, to cut off the Prussian havens and embouchures from communication with the regions of the Polish rivers, by constructing a great commercial road from the south-west angle of Poland to the Baltic Sea; and a rail-

way has been planned, for which the capital is already subscribed, and the works begun, which will convey to the harbours of Windau and Libau, from Russian Georgenburg, where the Niemen touches the Prussian territory, all the goods which formerly went to Tilsit or Memel, or on the Pregel to Königsberg.

Russia with her wonderful extent of territory, embracing the whole north of Asia and east of Europe, is labouring to increase and diffuse her influence; while Great Britain at home upon the ocean, which connects her islands and her colonies in the West and the South, rules with her navy the other half of both hemispheres, and operates from all sides towards their centre. Already these great powers of land and sea are in collision; the con-

flict of interests is begun; and its intensity is heightened by the hostile principles entertained by the two nations. There may be a partial and temporory cessation, but the smouldering flame is continually bursting out through unforeseen and unexpected chasms. Therefore, on almost every universal question we see these two powers marshalled as opposing vanguards, while France and Austria, with Prussia hanging in the rear, form respectively a second line of combatants. Thus the British and Russian influences encountered at Crakow, and in the European States of the Ottoman Empire. The struggle went on equally at Stockholm and Athens, at Constantinople, at Alexandria, and at Teheran. That party of the Swedish nobility opposed to a constitutional reform, is considered as Russian; while the English diplomacy is suspected to be

concerned in the formation of the present Ministry (1840). Russia opposes the establishment of any constitution in Greece; while Great Britain acts in favour of one, and France gives no decided opinion. When, in the beginning of 1840, the conspiracy in Greece was discovered, having for its pretended object the maintenance of the Orthodox Greek religion, it was generally thought that the leaders, if not supported by Russia, might at least reckon on her eventual protection. To further this undertaking the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople had opened negotiations with some inhabitants of the Ionian Islands, for which Lord Ponsonby forced the Porte to depose him; while Russia endeavoured to retain him in office, by her efforts at Constantinople, and through her Minister Von Brunnow, in London.

The jealousy of England towards Russia was first awakened by the Russo-Persian war of 1826-27, and still more by the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29—at which period Prince Metternich endeavoured to combine the great powers against Russia. England was ready; but France and Prussia being gained to the Russian side, the latter obtained the treaty of Adrianople, which completed the preparatory one of Kainardsche, (1774), and reduced Turkey to a Russian dependency. Meanwhile, the British fear of Russian ambition was moderated; and when Burnes, in 1832, returned from his journey through Afghanistan, Bokhara, and Persia, the English Government treated his views of Russian diplomacy in the East as mere idle dreams. Even the Polish war occasioned no great interest in England, and the greater

part of the Radicals in particular declared against meddling in it. Still some champions appeared for Poland,—De Lacy Evans and others,—and the germs of a growing antipathy to Russia might be observed in the occurrences which led to the downfal of Poland, and in the early connexion of England with the throne of July, which was threatened with opposition from the Autocrat. But British interests required to be directly touched before the split became manifest. This was the case in the Eastern question, which is a political riddle, and Europe stands pondering as if before the sphynx, in dread of being torn, if she does not hit upon the true solution.

Besides the dismemberment of Turkey, a series of other disputes, which reaches far

into Asia, and perhaps even to Pekin, has maintained a bad feeling between Russia and England. When Mohammed Ali invaded Syria in 1831, England and France bethought them of the systematic policy of Russia since the time of Catherine II. and of the words of Alexander in 1808, "that without the Dardanelles Russia had not the key of her own door." These two Governments were well inclined to Mohammed Ali, and Lord Palmerston's procrastinations having obliged Turkey to throw herself on the ever-ready protection of Russia, they united against Russian intervention. Upon which the Sultan agreed to the Viceroy's conditions. But Russia was not unrewarded for her assistance; for she made the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, the conditions of which were at first secret; it was to be in force for eight

years from the 8th July, 1833, and bound Turkey to close the Dardanelles against all except Russian men-of-war, in case of hostilities against Russia, so as to give her by this means the unconditional command of the Euxine. This irritated England, and Lord Palmerston at last declared that he looked upon the treaty as null; but no decisive steps were taken, as in the meanwhile peace was concluded with Mohammed Ali, and the Russian auxiliaries withdrawn. In the following years, some English merchants made repeated complaints of restrictions imposed by Russia on the commerce of the Black Sea. The two nations assumed a threatening attitude at the end of 1836, in consequence of the searching and embargo of an English vessel, the "Vixen," by a Russian cruiser on the Abghasian coast. Contrary to the terms

of the treaty of Bukarest, Russia had not restored the Turkish fortresses which she occupied on that frontier; they were however given up at the peace of Adrianople.

During the Circassian war, Russia had withdrawn her troops over the Kuban; but she still kept garrisons at Anapa and Redut-Kaleh on the coast. The trade was allowed to go on at these two places only, and was under the control of the Russian custom-house and quarantine officers; the rest of the coast was declared to be in strict blockade. This was announced to the English minister at Constantinople; but not to the cabinet of St. James's, and was not notified in the English Gazette. Under these circumstances Bell, the owner of the cargo of the Vixen, applied to Lord Palmerston, to know if the

Russian blockade was acknowledged, and was referred by his Lordship to the Gazette. In the sequel, Lord Palmerston (1838) denied having sanctioned the voyage of the Vixen, while Bell, on the strength of the Gazette being silent, had despatched his vessel to the Black Sea. She was taken by the Russians, and declared a good prize, because she had smuggled prohibited articles into the Russian territory; her crew were liberated and sent to Constantinople. All England was in an uproar; even Lord Palmerston hinted at the possibility of a war, while fearing such a contingency. It was therefore a cause of rejoicing that the question of the blockade might be avoided, as the Vixen had been condemned for smuggling; and that the point to decide was only whether the Turks had the power of giving Russia legal posses-

sion of the part of the coast where the affair happened. As it was ascertained that this spot had really belonged to the Turks, the English Crown lawyers decided that the ship had been taken in the Russian dominions. By this decision the further question as to whether Russia had legal possession of the whole coast from Anapa to Redut-Kaleh was not brought into discussion.

About the same time another dispute arose as to ostensible restrictions of commerce at the mouth of the Danube, in which, besides England, Austria also was interested. The tract between the most northern Russian, and the most southern Turkish mouth should, according to the treaty, have remained free; but Russia soon began to take sanitary measures, and to run her advanced posts

across the whole Delta; against which the British merchants made complaints, calling attention at the same time to the importance of the Danube for the intercourse of England and Austria. However, before the Vixen affair was over, the Russian Government got rid of this accusation, by declaring that it had no idea of levying tolls of, or interfering in any other manner with trade, but was only enforcing sanitory precautions, as agreed upon by the treaty of Adrianople. An anxious watch has been kept ever since, both by England and Austria, on the high road of the Danube, as is shewn by an article in the commercial treaty concluded between the two countries in September, 1838; as well as by the project which has been discussed between Austria, England, and the Porte, for restoring Trajan's Canal, now filled with sand,

from Rassova to Kostendsche, with a view to shorten the voyage on the Danube, and to avoid the Sulina mouth, which is in possession of the Russians. On the other side, in 1838, there was a report, that Russia was about founding a city on the Sulina; and at any rate it is certain, that she is busied in reforming her establishments in the Delta of the Danube.

Meanwhile, ever since 1832 the struggle between Egypt and the Porte has continued with various success, as well as the diplomatic game between the great Powers for influence at Constantinople. When, at length, a new war began in Syria between the Turks and Egyptians, and the Battle of Nisib and the death of Sultan Mahmood threatened the existence of the Ottoman Empire, Russia

united herself with the other four great Powers to stop the advancement of Mohammed Ali, and to guarantee the integrity of Turkey. Their Collective Note of the 27th July, 1840, required the Sultan only to negotiate with the Viceroy, in conjunction with them; and this advice he has attended to. But when the difficult compromise of the status quo had been effected, then began anew the changes in political combinations, the endless game of negotiation, and the conflict of diplomatic notes and rejoinders. What an influence Russia had established, and what a fear her impending arms had excited in the Porte, for a few years after the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, may be judged from the strong fortifications of the Dardanelles; works which have been carried on till quite recently with the greatest industry, in the spirit of

the treaty, and on the pressing requisition of the Russian Government. But in vain have both British and Prussian officers, and more particularly the English Captain Stevens, who was sent to Constantinople in 1836, pointed out the importance and feasibility of constructing fortifications to protect the Bosphorus and the capital against Russian attacks.

In 1838, the British influence was perceived to have considerably increased, which was proved by the commercial treaty between England and the Porte, the united Turkish and British exercising squadrons, and other such things. But towards the end of that year, it may be concluded, that the Russian minister Von Butenieff had gained ground on the English; for several British naval of-

ficers were sent back, who were to have entered the Turkish service. Afterwards, the representatives of the two countries seemed to negotiate in greater harmony. This was more particularly the case, after the policy of Soult's ministry had separated France from England and from Russia, which gave the latter country an opportunity to send Brunnow to London, and to approximate itself to the Cabinet there. Since which, the formation of Thiers's ministry has introduced new modifications, and caused much dread among the great Powers, without making any material change in their position.

Russia holds herself prepared for every contingency; she has a strong fleet on the Black Sea, and on its shores a numerous land army, which, according to the latest re-

ports, is concentrated in force at the mouths of the Danube. Should the Ottoman Empire be suddenly overturned, she would have no choice but to exert her whole force, and seize a large share of the spoil; but the very necessity of doing so would involve her in peril. Under the existing circumstances, and while Circassia and Poland are still bleeding wounds in the breast of Russia, she would prefer a feeble neighbour, obedient to her every wish; and it is, therefore, her interest to exclude as much as possible from the shores of the Euxine the ambitious and independent Mohammed Ali, the ruler of Egypt and Syria. In like manner, England, upon different grounds, is interested in maintaining things as they are; for the existence of a Turkish Empire keeps Russia out of the Mediterranean, while the weakness of Egypt

would permit the British to form by main force, and permanently to defend, new channels of communication with India. Austria foresees that, in case of war, she would be outflanked by Russia in the east of Europe, and Prussia, a defensive military State, sees too little chance of gaining anything by a war, not to have sought, up to this time, the preservation of peace. France alone would seek to strengthen Egypt, an ally not altogether impotent, and who relies solely upon her for support against the superior force of Russia by land, and of Britain on the sea. So that the Eastern question seems to turn upon the increase or diminution of the Egyptian kingdom. Meanwhile, Mohammed has carried his mines into every recess of the Turkish political edifice. He stands with match in hand ready to light the train; and only

hesitates, because, perhaps, the falling fragments may be more certain to ruin himself, than to scatter destruction through Europe and Asia. From all which, the only possible result to be looked for by European diplomacy, is that in place of Turkey being suddenly overturned, she will be allowed to waste away in a slow consumption.

As in the west of Asia, so in its interior, Russia and England have hitherto confined themselves to demonstrations, to a vicarious warfare, which either themselves or their allies wage against those of their antagonist. This is carried on by negotiations, intrigues, and secret support, as well as in the field of battle; and occasionally an ostensible and subordinate agent falls a sacrifice to the lofty philosophy of Politics. After the peace of

Turk-mant-schai, Russia proposed that Abbas Mirza, the heir of the Persian throne, should repay himself for his losses in the West, by an invasion of Khorassan in the East. But Mirza died before his father, Schah Feth Ali; and England, dreading that Russia would attempt some plan of conquest after the latter's death, sent several Indian officers during his lifetime to serve in the Persian army. The failure in their efforts to discipline it, was partly ascribed to Russian influence. When Feth Ali died, both Powers united in placing his grandson Mohammed Mirza on the Persian throne; the one hoping to use him as an engine of attack, and the other anxious to consolidate his power into a bulwark for herself. The English minister MacNeill endeavoured to turn the attention of the new Schah towards im-

provements in the domestic affairs of his country, while count Simonitsch, the Russian ambassador at Teheran, urged him to attack first the Turcomans, and then Schah Kamram of Herat; a city which is situated on the ancient route for caravans and armies towards India, and is therefore to be looked upon as an outwork to the British possessions there. A movement was also perceived in Cabul among the Usbecks, and in Bokhara, which British statesmen considered to be under the guidance of Russia. Russian officers accompanied the Schah of Iran in 1837, to the seige of Herat, which was defended by the counsels of Englishmen. The Anglo-Indian army was immediately put in motion, partly to rescue Herat, and also to expel Dost Mohammed from Cabul, he having declared himself hostile to England.

The last object was effected; and as the Schah of Iran was forced to raise the siege of Herat in the autumn of 1838, we may consider British India to be in greater security.

These occurrences meanwhile have brought to light the important fact, that Russia and England are plotting against one another in the interior of Asia; that in the north and the south, a host of Asiatic tribes, with the occupants and claimants of their thrones, are inclined, now to Russia, and now to British India, according to varying circumstances and the changing caprices of these despots. Some further glimpses into Asiatic affairs were obtained at the end of 1838, and the beginning of 1839, from the diplomatic correspondence between Russia and England which

was laid before the British Parliament. To the complaints of England as to the supposed intrigues of Russia in Iran and Afghanistan, and particularly in Cabul, Count Nesselrode, the Russian Minister, declared, that his master looked on the notion of threatening India as an idle dream; that Russia was rather desirous of reconciling England and Iran, than of exciting them against one another; that she was pursuing throughout Middle Asia the most inoffensive policy, and only sought to rival England in the paths of peace and industry. Russia then spoke of the necessary independence of the Middle Asiatic States, "because the two great powers, in order to continue friends, should not come near one another, nor be brought into collision in the centre of Asia." The same correspondence shews that Count Si-

monitsch assisted the Schah of Iran with money for his enterprise against Herat, and that he had concluded and signed formal treaties with the Afghans, but which the Emperor had refused to ratify. Count Nesselrode, moreover, acknowledged to the British Minister at Petersburg, that Simonitsch had acted in such a manner as to give England just cause of complaint against him. He was, in consequence, relieved at Teheran by Colonel Duhamel; and as, in addition to this, the Russian agent in Kandahar had been recalled at the request of England, Lord Palmerston expressed his thanks for these concessions in a note of 4th April, 1839.

The ostensible object of the Russian expedition against Khiva was, to hinder the oppressions to which the caravans were sub-

jected, and to liberate the Russian prisoners there; but it is probable that a counterbalance was sought for, to the increased influence which England had gained by her victorious march to Cabul, although it is not to be overlooked that Khiva had shewn itself unfavourable to the Persian attack upon Herat*.

In the year 1838 the "Morning Chronicle" maintained that Russia was aware of the impossibility of conveying an army even as far as Khiva, and still more of carrying one to India. Nevertheless, on the 29th November, 1839, a Russian corps, variously given at from five to twelve thousand men, commanded by Lieutenant-General Perowsky, started

* Bokhara, on the contrary, had taken a position hostile to England.

from Orenburg to march upon Khiva, distant one thousand five hundred werstes, (about 1000 miles). According to the General's declaration, "It was intended to secure for Russia the legitimate influence due to her in this part of Asia." About ten or twelve thousand camels carried the provisions and baggage, and the troops were amply provided with every convenience which might enable them to withstand the severe cold of the Desert. But the frost became so intense, that the corps consumed a whole month in penetrating a portion of the snowy tract, and in traversing the forty leagues between Gemba and Akbulak; from whence it was obliged to retrace its laborious way, and to escape total annihilation by seeking shelter in the fortifications of Gemba. According to the latest reports it has halted there, and there is

no certain intelligence of a second expedition being intended. It is by no means improbable that the Khan of Khiva has in the meanwhile made application to the Anglo-Asiatic Government, both for advice and assistance; while perhaps Russia may be enabled to bring her Anti-British influence into play at Pekin itself, in the dispute between England and China.

The first regular diplomatic connexion between Russia and China,—countries which border one on the other for one thousand leagues,—took place in the middle of the 17th century. The attack of the Russians on the region of the Amur, and the Chinese resistance, which was terminated by the peace of Nertschinsk in 1689, during Peter the Great's reign, induced a tolerably close intimacy.

The terms of the peace secured to Russia an inconsiderable part of the Amur country; but established a free trade, which was, however, afterwards restricted to the frontier trade. Since that period, according to a Chinese account of its relations with Russia, contained in an official description of the Chinese Empire completed in 1804, the good intelligence between China and that "tributary kingdom" has never been disturbed. During this lapse of time, the commerce between the two countries has probably been decupled. The Russians enjoy, exclusively of all other nations, the right of having a Greek Church at Pekin, and of maintaining an Institute for learning the language, with periodical changes of its members. In 1840 a new mission was sent to Pekin, and it remains to be seen whether they have, or in the sequel intend, to inter-

fere in the quarrel which is begun between England and China.

By Peter the Great was Russia first introduced, as an independent power, into the system of European nations; which system was extended at the end of the last century, so as to include America, and has since been obliged to receive into its combinations both a Turkish and an Egyptian empire; and now this animated chain of closely connected national interests has begun to encompass even the states of Middle Asia, lying between the Russian and British territories. The time must come when the intimate union of all human races will become so manifest and self-conscious, that no arbitrary policy will be able to attack any one member of the combination, without causing a sym-

pathetic disturbance throughout its whole extent. Meanwhile this epoch has not arrived for Inner Asia. On this arena the Russo-Asiatic may long combat the Anglo-Asiatic policy. Here the two rivals may continue, as they have commenced, their indirect struggle, and the idea of an Asiatic balance of political power, as well as a Europeo-American one, may perhaps realise a fluctuating existence, and the movements of the far East may not produce any immediate re-action in the West. But since a more intimate bond between nations and empires is extending its influence over a wider sphere of action, the mere mechanical balance of power will be replaced by a system of counterpoise, new in its principle, and following the only division which is true to nature, viz. an organic separation into states;

determined by the distinctions of race and national character.

In Egypt and Asiatic Turkey, the Arabic element, only repressed for a time, is gaining the victory over that of the Turks. In like manner the European-Turkish rule will not long stand, and sooner or later, whether partially, as in the last few decades, or by some violent and unforeseen commotion, the Sclavonic Greek tribes of south-eastern Europe will be called on to perform no mean part on the theatre of the world. Then it will remain to consider how far Russia must be allowed to exert her material weight, so as to stamp the whole east of our continent with the type of her monotonous empire. Then it will be a question, whether a freer and more varied cultivation shall not assert itself there

fundamentally. Whether Roman Catholicism and western Sclavonic nationality shall not maintain themselves independent, in the East, against the Greek and Russian principle, just as, in the West, a beneficial contest of opinion is sustained between Roman Catholicity and essentially Protestant Germanism. Thus the Eastern Question will be continually reproduced under new forms; and, however long it may be possible to keep the sword in its scabbard for the sake of maintaining a miserable status quo, however much Russia may hug herself at the complete denationalization of Poland, still it is possible, during the inevitable advance of human development, that a Polish Question may again arise, and connect itself with that of the East.

CHAPTER IX.

Russian Statistics—Acquisitions of Territory—Area of Russia in Europe—Great Russia—South Russia—West Russia—Russia in Asia—Proportion of Inhabitants to Area—Number of Inhabitants—Enumeration of different Races—Germans—Jews.

THIS immense empire, whose area is more than double the whole of Europe, is the only one among the great European powers which has made any considerable acquisition of territory since the Congress of Vienna; this she did at the expense of the Persian and Turkish empires, of the peace of Turkmantschai, (22nd February, 1828), and that of Adrianople, (14th September, 1829). A tolerable ap-

proximation to accuracy in the superficial extent of her area can only be made with regard to Russia in Europe, as in her Asiatic and American possessions, there are differences amounting to many thousand square miles*, which cannot be made to tally in any satisfactory manner.

The area of Russia in Europe is supposed to be upwards of two million square miles

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* *Translator's Note.*—According to Professor Narrien of Sandhurst—

1 German mile = 8100 English yards.

——— = 4·602 English miles.

1 square German mile =21·178. square English miles. Wherefore, to convert German square miles into English ones, multiply the former by 21·178. For ordinary purposes, one German mile may be considered equal to four-and-a-half English, and one German square mile to twenty-one English.

(English), or about a quarter of the whole empire, if the old czardoms of Kasan and Astrachan are reckoned parts of European Great Russia. Included are the Baltic provinces, in five governments, an eleventh part, or 190,000 square miles; Great Russia, in twenty-seven governments, about seven-tenths, or 1,424,000 square miles; Little Russia, (which, however, by a late ukas, is to lose its name, and be included in Great Russia), in four governments, 80,000 square miles; South Russia, in three governments, including Bessarabia, and the district of the Don Cossacks, 174,000 square miles; West Russia, in seven governments, and the province Bialystok, 160,000 square miles. And, finally, the kingdom of Poland, in eight Woiwodeships, 48,000 square miles, not a fortieth part of the Russian empire.

Russia in Asia contains, according to Bulgarin, 6,000,000 square miles; according to Schubert, 5,200,000 square miles. Their principal difference exists in Siberia, which, by the ukas of the 7th March, 1822, is divided into East and West Siberia, and each of these again into two governorships. Bulgarin makes it contain 5,300,000 square miles, and Schubert, 4,400,000 square miles. The most important of the Asiatic possessions, in proportion to their extent, are certainly the Caucasian territory, including Armenia, (at present 146,000 square miles), although the Russian authority is here but little established, and can only be well-founded by a fortunate result of the Eastern question. The Steppes of the Kirgises, with their 568,000 square miles, can as yet scarcely be reckoned as an addition to the political

weight of the Russian dominions; and still less the Russian Asiatic islands of 33,600 square miles, and the wilderness on the north-east coast of America, beyond the parallel of 54° 40′ N., amounting to about 368,000 square miles.

In the Russian empire, the gradations in the proportion of inhabitants to area are so various, that its population is the best scale of estimating the real importance of any province. On this principle it becomes evident, that the whole available power of Russia is contained in her European possessions, and the Northen Governments, even in these, scarcely surpass the limits of insignificance. The most authentic documents for this inquiry have been collected by Peter von Köppen, "Bulletin Scientifique de l'Académie des

Sciences de Petersbourg," and he obtained them principally from the tax-lists for males, and other official papers, of the year 1838. According to him, at the end of that year, Russia Proper, exclusive of the army and the Caucasus lands, contained 53,977,000 souls; add to this the standing army, the marine, the colonies, and all individuals and their families immediately belonging to the military class, 1,330,000 souls; the Caucasian mountaineers, 1,500,000 souls; Poland 4,300,000 souls (at the end of 1838, 4,298,962 souls; and 1839, 4,358,509 souls); and, finally, the Grand Principality of Finnland, 1,410,392 souls; altogether, 62,517,000 souls; of which 56,256,000 were in Europe, 6,200,000 in Asia, and only 61,100 in America. The population of European Russia gives an average of only 27 inhabitants to 1 square mile;

but in the governments of Moscow, Tula, Kursk, and Podolia, this proportion is quadrupled, or at least nearly so (between 116 and 96 souls to 1 square mile); and three times the average, or at least 71 souls, to 1 square mile, are found in the five governments—Orel, Poltawa, Rjasan, Kiew, and Jaroslaw. The whole kingdom of Poland, in 1829, gave an average of 91 souls to 1 square mile; and the populous woiwodeship of Masovia, including the city of Warsaw, contained above 119 souls to 1 square mile. The yearly increase of the population can only be estimated by approximation, as the lists of yearly births and deaths are managed by the clergy, and not subject to any general control of the district and government offices. In the year 1834, 43 eparchies of the Greek Catholic Church had sent in their lists; but Orenburg

and Immeritia were not included. These lists gave 1,908,678 for the births, and 1,292,998 for the deaths, or an excess of births over deaths of 615,680, being nearly 47 per cent. In the year 1839, an official calculation for the whole empire, including all professions, gave the following results for the year 1836:—Births, 2,400,000 (of which Poland gave 210,000, the Roman Catholic Church in Russia 104,100, the United Greek Church 72,896, and the Evangelical Church 74,083); deaths, 1,500,000 (Poland 137,000, the Roman Catholic Church in Russia 73,005, the United Greek Church 60,058, and the Evangelical 50,897). By this calculation, the excess of births over deaths for one year amounted to 900,000, or nearly one and a half per cent. on the whole population. It may at least be held as certain, that since the year

1832, when the immediate effects of the cholera and of the Polish rebellion ceased to act, the whole population of the Russian Empire increases in a yearly ratio of full one per cent., or at this moment at the rate of at least 600,000 per annum.

The proportion of the inhabitants of Russia who live in the country as compared with those who inhabit towns is, in consequence of the low state of all but the rudest arts, even looking only at the great mass of European Russia, totally different from that which holds good in all other parts of Europe. Not more than a ninth part, on an average, and even in the kingdom of Poland only about two-ninths, have as yet settled themselves in towns. There is also a great inferiority even at the few points where population does accu-

mulate, for in this immense empire there are only six cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants.

PETERSBURG, which after the first century of its existence had 4200 houses and 235,000 inhabitants, has more than doubled the number of its houses and inhabitants since 1803. In December, 1839, the houses were reckoned at 8665, of which 5405 were wooden; the number of inhabitants had increased to 476,386; which was not, however, altogether the result of improvements in arts and commerce, but rather was caused by the universal Sclavonic habit of entertaining a swarm of servants, and by the great bodies of troops kept in the capital, for there were 338,512 males, and only 137,874 females. Out of this population (including their re-

spective families) 67,011 individuals belonged to the Court establishment and hereditary officers, 126,313 were Crown peasants and serfs, and 70,927 soldiers. Moscow is not only as numerously peopled as before its destruction, in 1812, but actually surpasses the number by 84,000 souls. This ancient capital of the Czars reckoned, in 1839, 349,068 inhabitants;—a population more approaching to the state produced by trade, for the females (140,906) were more than two-fifths of the whole. WARSAW, the third city of the Empire, at the beginning of the present century was the focus of Polish industry and commerce, and had rapidly doubled its population, after Alexander had protected its manufactures. It counted, before the breaking out of the last rebellion, 139,654 inhabitants, in 4968 houses. The occurrences of 1829-31,

between death, emigration, and deportation, struck off 20,000 of the inhabitants; but this loss is already supplied. In December, 1839, the numbers were 139,671, of which above one-fourth, or 36,390, were Jews. RIGA, the second trading city of the Empire, has increased most rapidly since the commencement of this century, both as to commerce and population; so that in the 28 years from 1810 till 1838 the numbers have risen from 30,000 to 63,590. ODESSA has advanced still more surprisingly, and is now the third commercial city, and even disputes with Riga for the superiority; it was only founded in 1796, and in 1837 had become a city of 69,023 inhabitants, in 4500 houses. The last among the great Russian cities is KASAN, which shews its Asiatic character of immobility, by remaining at the same number of 50,000 inhabitants.

After these come only five other towns, which contain between 50,000 and 30,000 inhabitants, namely Kiew (the birth-place of the Russian state), Kronstadt, Astrachan, Tula, and Kaluga. There are some insulated large villages in the centre of European Russia, as there are in Hungary; but, belonging to the lords of the soil, they are prevented from becoming civic municipalities. One of these is the village of Iwanovo, in the government of Moskow, which is the property of the family of Scheremetjew, and has a population of 48,000 souls.

The various races of men which are included under the Russian sway have not severally any political importance; because one, much to the ease of the government, viz. the Sclavonic stock, preponderates so much as to

be four-fifths of the whole (over 50,000,000). Nevertheless, the most inveterate hatreds exist among this very race; for the Poles and the inhabitants of Little Russia have cherished for centuries an embittered detestation of Great Russia. But the latter alone form more than a half of the entire population (about 36,000,000), and thus neutralize, by a threefold superiority of numbers, their cognate opponents; and this so much the more, because the interests of the other tribes living under the Russian Government, incline them more to the Russian majority than to a connection with Poland and Little Russia, although together they would form the important mass of 12,000,000. The other races are divided, for the most part, into such petty and unconnected tribes, that they lose all political weight. This is the case with

the Lithuanians (2,000,000 in number), which have had a political relation with Poland for centuries, and have also mingled their races repeatedly; the Finns, who include about 3,000,000, in twelve tribes; the Mongolians, the Samoyedes, and other Asiatics. An exception to this remark must be made with regard to the Tartarian and Caucasian nations, the former of which, at an earlier period, and the latter at the present time, have made an obstinate resistance and a bold defence of their native mountains, although the Caucasian, together only amount to 1,500,000 souls. The Teutonic race is by far of the greatest importance in every branch of civilization; and having been established as a colony for six centuries, in what is now Russian territory, has been constantly forwarding the industrious arts, taking a share in the go-vern

ment, producing teachers and physicians for their own body, and spreading improvement through the whole mass of the people. But the number of the Germans is still very small; it does not amount to the one hundred and twentieth part of the whole population of Russia, being only 500,000; of which 112,000 belong to the German colonies in the government of Saratow; 90,000 to South Russia, also colonists; 160,000 to the Baltic provinces, including Petersburg; the remainder are scattered about in smaller numbers, mostly at Moscow and Warsaw.

The Jews in Russia are a million and a half, although they possess the right of settling only in the Polish and Caucasian provinces, and in 17 southern and western governments, chiefly what formed the kingdom

of Poland before the partition. The ukas of the 13th April, 1835, regulates their position in civic life. According to this ukas, the Jew is allowed a permanent residence in Russia Proper, only in the governments of Grodno, Wilna, Volhynia, Podolia, Minsk, and Ekaterinoslaw; in the provinces of Bessarabia and Bialystok; in the governments of Kiew, Chersen, and Tauris, excepting the cities of Kiew, Nikolajew, and Sebastopol; in the governments of Mohilew and Witepsk only in the towns, not including the villages; and in the governments of Tschernigow and Toltawa, with the exception of the Crown and Cossack villages. In Courland and Livonia, only those families which are already settled will be allowed to remain; but Jewish families from other governments, where they have a right of residence, will not be allowed to

settle here, any more than in the towns of the western governments, which are less than 20 English miles from the frontier. Every Jew must now belong to some particular trade, or be treated as a vagabond. Their former custom of early marriages is checked, by not permitting males before 18, nor females before 16, to be united. To encourage the taste for husbandry, in which the Jews are deficient, those who become farmers are relieved from the poll-tax for 25 years. If they form themselves into large villages, they are excused for 50 years from military service, and from all land-taxes for 10 years; if into smaller societies, the same remission of land-tax, and 25 years of freedom from recruiting. Merchants, handicraftsmen, and other citizens, being Jews, have the same rights as other Russian subjects; manufacturers, hav-

ing purchased buildings for factories, are excused for 10 years from all taxes due for them. The Jew who distinguishes himself at the Gymnasium or University, may, on the proposition of the Minister of Instruction, be placed in the civil service, or as a teacher, but not without the express consent of the Emperor; in which case he may reside in the interior governments, or in the capital. Three years after this ukas the Emperor Nicolas confirmed, in January, 1838, a proposal of the Imperial Council relative to the formation of Jewish colonies, in which, after a steady residence of 20 years, they should receive the right to trade. The whole number of Jews in January, 1839, amounted to 1,520,000 souls, or a fortieth part of the population. Of these 1,054,349 dwelt in the 17 southern and western governments, in the

proportion of a fifteenth part of their population (16,238,600); in the kingdom of Poland, 453,646, which is a ninth of the whole population; lastly, in the Caucasian provinces, 10,482, or the two-hundredth part of the population.

CHAPTER X.

Proportion of Classes—Increase of Nobility—Burgher Class—Russian Merchants—Trading Peasants—Peasants—Administration of Church Affairs—Greek Catholic Church—Roman Catholic Church—Evangelical Church—Mohammedans—Jewish Sects—Intellectual Cultivation in Russia—Division of Schools into three Classes: Universities, Lyceums, Gymnasiums, &c.—Proportion of Scholars to Population—Physical Cultivation of Russia—Corn, Hemp, and Flax Trade—Vineyard—Tallow Trade—Wool—Timber—Fisheries and Mines—Increase of new Manufactures—Fairs—Trading Companies, &c.—Defensive Forces of Russia—Credit—Finances.

In considering the proportion of classes to one another, the rapid multiplication of the nobility is a fact of statistical interest. This is also the case in Poland, in spite of her nu-

merous pauper nobility, which was increased by the law of the 25th June (7th July), 1836, by which the Russian principle for the acquisition of nobility was introduced there, viz. founding nobility on a distinguished name gained either by brilliant civil or military services. In Poland, as in the rest of Russia, there is now the distinction of hereditary and personal nobility. According to documents collected by the Russian Ministry of Finance, in the year 1836, the different governments, not including however any part of Asia, contained 538,160 hereditary, and 153,195 personal nobles, making altogether 691,355 individuals, or one-seventieth part of the whole population. In Poland, in 1837, there were 283,420 nobles, or a fourteenth part of the population.

The burgher class is rising very gradually; for the inhabitants of the towns (exclusive of Poland), according to the last census, of the middle and lower classes, amounted to 4,175,869 persons; of which only 251,961 belonged to the commercial families, and 2,773,416 to the guilds of handicraft and tradesmen. The whole number of burghers in 1834, according to the Journal of the Home Department, was 835,071. Five years later (1839) the entire number of Russian merchants was 36,617; of which only 889 were in the first guild, with a declared trading capital of £1,932,608; 1874 were in the second guild, with £1,630,000; 33,808 in the third guild, with a capital of £11,759,300; besides which there were 46 foreigners, with a capital of £100,000. Add to these 5299 trading peasants, the nature of whose traffic is

accurately defined by their trading certificate; only 22 of these belonged to the first two, the remaining 5277 fell into the third and fourth classes. In the class of peasants were included the military settlers and their families, the Cossacks, Calmucks, and Baschkirs; their united numbers were officially reckoned at 1,932,165. The same documents for that year gave 44,826,288 as the number of individuals belonging to the class of peasants, of which 21,463,993 were the property of the Crown, and 23,362,595 belonged to different landed proprietors.

The administration of the Church affairs is in a most fortunate position for the Government, as the Greek Catholic Church, which considers the Emperor as its head, has become to such a degree the ruling confession of Rus-

sia Proper, that nine-elevenths of the population (45,000,000) belong to it. The last great victory was won for this creed in 1839, when the United Greek Church became orthodox. The clergy of the Greek Church, in 1836, numbered 503,895 individuals. The Roman Catholic Church is the prevalent one in Poland, and in such parts of West Russia as are composed of what was the kingdom of Poland. The numbers, however, do not at present exceed 6,000,000, of which 3,500,000 live in the eight woiwodeships of Poland, 2,300,000 in West Russia, 50,000 in Courland, and 150,000 scattered about in small communities. The Evangelical Church prevails chiefly in the Baltic provinces, including the Grand Princedom of Finnland, and among the German colonists in South Russia and on the Wolga. Their numbers are about

3,000,000, out of which, in 1838, 1,361,107 Protestants lived in Finnland alone. In Poland there are now only 40 Protestant and 7 Reformed congregations. Not much greater is the numerical amount of the Mohammedans, who inhabit the countries won during the last 100 years from the Porte and from Persia, and hold fast by their old religion, in the exercise of which the Russian Government does not disturb them: their number is calculated at 3,500,000, dwelling principally in the governments of Orenburg, Saratow, Astrachan, and the Caucasian provinces. The Jews, whose number has been given above, possess in Russia, exclusive of Poland, 562 synagogues, 2223 religious schools, and 3668 schools for teaching young children: the number of rabbins, in 1838, was only 894. The Jewish sect of Karaïtes, who reject the Tal-

mud, consist in South Russia, that is to say in the Crimea, of 4000 souls. The Lamaism, Fetishism, and Schamanism, which are the creeds of the wild and not numerous tribes of Asiatic and American Russia, do not embrace more than 800,000 persons, one quarter of whom (Kalmucks, Baschkirs, and Kirgishes,) are Lamaists, the rest belong to the still baser forms of Polytheism.

Intellectual cultivation, and its extension in the thinly peopled governments, has been placed under the strictest superintendence of the Russian Administration; and this was more feasible, as an alteration had become necessary in the previous system of instruction. The influence of foreigners, and of their intellectual independence, has been gradually eliminated; natives, and native institutions,

are alone employed to nationalize the people's imaginations, and to instruct them in the higher branches of science. How quickly this process is advancing under the government of the Emperor Nicolas, may be observed from the Reports of the Minister of Public Instruction, which have appeared regularly since 1831. We will leave it undetermined whether its object is to diffuse a high degree of intelligence or not; at any rate, a great spread of elementary instruction and a definite though small amount of popular scientific knowledge is thus very quickly secured. The ukas of the 21st May, 1837, divided all the schools of Russia into three classes—high, middle, and low; it ordered, at the same time, that the serfs should only be admitted to the third class, "in order that they may not be excited to rise above their condition." Yet in

1836, at Dorpat, and since 1838-39 at the other Russian universities, lectures have been instituted for handicraft-tradesmen, embracing mechanics, chemistry, physics, technology and metallurgy, which are attended with a good effect. The number of places of instruction has been greatly increased under the present Emperor; in the twelve years, from 1826 to 1837, more than 460 new schools have been established, which is considerable, taking into account the difficulties caused from the paucity of proper teachers, and from local circumstances.

Not counting Poland and Finnland, Russia possessed, in 1839, six universities (Dorpat, Petersburg, Moscow, Charkow, Kasan and Kiew), containing 2307 students, and 468 teachers; three lyceums (Moscow,

Odessa, and Kiew), containing 452 scholars, and 80 teachers; 68 gymnasiums, attended by 16,506 scholars; 426 district schools, 884 parochial schools, and 508 private boarding-schools. The number of scholars, in proportion to the population, was calculated so favourably to Russia, that in 1837 it was made out to be 1 out of every 45 persons (though this, indeed, is only the seventh part of those who would attend schools in the German states): and even this estimate appears to be merely an hypothesis of the Minister; for according to the Tables of the Minister of Public Instruction, published by the Emperor's order in 1839, the whole number of scholars and students (exclusive of Poland and Finnland) was 244,993. If this be compared with the 50,585,857 inhabitants of the same provinces, as returned by the Mi-

nister of the Home Department, we shall find the proportion to be only 1 scholar to 210 individuals. In this, however, 3668 Jewish schools, and 398 Mohammedan medresses, are not reckoned; from whence it appears more than problematical, whether the 4,167,995 persons who are returned officially as able to read and write, are really instructed even to that small amount, as this would give 1 reader to every 12 persons. In the kingdom of Poland, in 1839, the number of scholars was 70,000, at 1159 institutes; that is to say, 1 scholar to every 62 individuals—a proportion which we may conclude to be tolerably correct, from the greater intelligence of Poland, and the relation of the Romish clergy to its people.

In a statistical review of the physical ac-

tivity of Russia, which produces almost exclusively the articles of export, we must endeavour to ascertain first, whether the old merchandise for the foreign market continues to find a ready sale; and also whether any new products have became known, which are available for a profitable commerce. It is evident, that in a country so immense, and whose internal circumstances are so peculiar, the data for returns of its production cannot be trusted to as very accurate. For the six last years, the crops in the corn-growing governments have failed, either partially or altogether; and in 1834, more corn was imported than vice versâ. The hemp and flax trade is of the first importance for Russia; in fact, the great demand in the west of Europe for hemp, flax, sailcloth, and cordage, has on an average made this item amount to one-

fifth of the whole value of the exports from the two principal ports, viz. Petersburg and Riga. Vineyards are on the increase, and already the importation of French and Hungarian wines has fallen off. The estimate for native wines, in 1835, was 5,400,000 gallons. The tallow trade renders grazing and cattle a subject of great consequence. Petersburg exports in this article a yearly amount of between £1,750,000 and £2,000,000, which is a third of the value of her whole exports. The sheep walks in the Baltic provinces, and in West and South Russia, are improving. This is shewn by the wool exported, although the woollen manufactories, supported at home by force, expend no inconsiderable quantity of the finer wools. From 1800 to 1814, the yearly average was 713,268lbs.; from 1814 to 1824, 1,264,068lbs.; from

1834 to 1837, 11,028,492lbs.; and in 1838, 12,985,416lbs., valued at £552,000. The forests have been much damaged from immoderate cutting, and some are gone altogether, as the Muromsche and Brjanskische forests; yet in 1837 they were estimated at 486,000,000 acres, 324,000,000 acres of which were Crown property. The three governments of Archangel, Olonetz and Wologda, contain half of the Russian forests, and scarcely one-fortieth of her population. The export of timber amounts in value yearly to between £370,000 and £435,000, half of which goes to England; besides about £130,000 worth of potash, one-fourth of which goes to Prussia. The fisheries and mines, although valuable as to productiveness, are principally converted to home purposes. The quantity of the precious metals and of copper raised during the last ten

years had not much increased; but cast and hammered iron is yearly manufactured to the amount of 432,000,000lbs.

Manufacturing skill may be stated to have advanced considerably in the last decade, but still requires factitious protection. Most of the wares which are now produced at home, and generally under the eye of foreign workmen, are of inferior value, and cost more than the same articles imported as formerly from abroad. It is impossible to foresee how long this state of transition may last, till the goods and their value balance one another, so as to render it unnecessary to force a market. The number of new manufactories has increased rapidly, as may be seen by the fact, that in all Russia, in the year 1801, there were 2270 factories; in 1812,

2332; in 1820, 3724; in December, 1837, they had run up to 6450 factories and forges, employing 377,820 masters and workmen; and in 1838 there were 6855 of such establishments, employing 412,931 masters and workmen. Among them were 606 for woollen goods, 227 for silk goods, 446 for silk weaving, 1918 for leather dressing, 554 for tallow melting, 444 for candle making, 85 for wax chandling, 486 factories for metal goods, 131 for sugar boiling, 115 saltpetre works, 184 potash works, 109 chemical and colour works, 142 paper, and 117 tobacco factories.

The above facts display the commerce of Russia in its most important particulars. Her internal trade is carried on and improved mostly by the busy fairs of Nischni Novgorod (where goods were brought in 1838 to

the value of £7,250,000, of which £800,000 came from China); Korennaja, in the government of Kursk (1838, £800,000 in goods); Irbit, in the government of Perm (1838, £930,000 in goods); Rostow (£485,000 in goods); besides Kretschensk, and Romny, in the governments of Poltawa and Jakutzk, at each of these, on an average, goods from £65,000 to £130,000 in value. Each government has its bank, and the whole of their united business amounted to upwards of £5,300,000 in 1836, which was £435,000 more than in the preceding year. From 1835 to the 18th March, 1838, there were formed 23 trading companies, which brought a capital of £1,400,000 into circulation.

If we examine the movements in commerce, as indicated by the official lists of ex-

ports and imports, we shall find little variation since 1832, which is natural, as the exports of Russia, at least within a tenth, consist of raw production; and since the above date there have been no impediments of any consequence placed in the way of importation.

The official reports make the imports for 1836 amount to £10,379,740; for 1837, to £11,014,376; for 1838, £10,837,552; of which £10,671,866 came from foreign countries, £53,242 from Finnland, and £112,443, from the kingdom of Poland. Importation by land was one-twelfth, and that by sea eleven-twelfths, of the whole. As to the nature of the articles, one-fourth was consumables, one-half for the use of manufactories, and one-fourth was manufactured goods.

The whole exports, in 1836, came to £12,413,985; in 1837, to £11,571,225; in 1838, £13,716,748; of which foreign countries took £13,125,711; Finnland, £171,318; and the kingdom of Poland £417,356. Exportation by land was one-sixteenth, or nearly, and by sea over fifteen-sixteenths of the whole. One-tenth was consumables, eight-tenths was for manufacturing purposes, and about one-tenth was manufactured goods. Half the whole amount of sea exports went through Petersburg, while the importations at this port engross three-fourths of the whole. Riga exported, in 1839, to the amount of £2,710,807, or one-fifth of all the exports of the country, while it only imported, on an average, about one-fifteenth of the whole imports. Odessa has one-tenth of the exports, Archangel and Taganrog (each on an

average of years, from 1833 to 1839), about one-twentieth of the whole; but, on the other hand, Odessa and Taganrog import nearly equal to their exports, while Archangel scarcely imports at all (only about one two-hundred-and-fortieth part of the whole). The other Russian ports in the Baltic, namely Libau and Revel, have together one-thirtieth of the exports, and scarcely the one-hundred-and-eightieth of the imports of the State.

The defensive forces of Russia have been newly organized by the ukas of the 9th August, 1835. Up to that period two large armies were maintained; these were now consolidated, and the staff of one of them reduced. The army is now divided into six "armé corps" of infantry, each corps into three divisions, each division into two bri-

gades, each brigade into two regiments, and each regiment into six battalions of 1000 men each; four battalions take the field, and two remain as a reserve: so that each regiment, in fact, is 4000 strong, and each "armé corps" 48,000 strong. To each of these six corps there is attached one division of light horse, in two brigades (Hussars and Huhlans), of two regiments each. Each regiment of horse consists of nine squadrons of 160 horses each, eight of which take the field, and one remains as a reserve; so that a regiment in the field has 1280 horses, and a division 5120 horses. Besides this each corps has a division of artillery united to it, consisting of three brigades, with four batteries each of eight guns, and one brigade of horse artillery, one reserved battery, one park of artillery, and three sapper battalions—together, 6000 men. Thus a

complete "armé corps" is 60,000 men strong, with 120 pieces of artillery; and the whole active army 360,000 men, and 720 pieces of artillery. Then comes the corps of guards, in three divisions of infantry, three divisions of cavalry, and one division of artillery with 120 guns; then the grenadier corps, equal in strength to an infantry corps—both together 114,000 men, and 240 guns. There are two reserved corps of cavalry, each of two divisions (Uhlans and Cuirassiers), each division of two brigades of two regiments each, with two brigades of horse artillery, and a dragoon corps in two brigades of two regiments each, and one brigade of horse artillery; altogether this cavalry corps consists of 30,000 men and horses. Finally, there are two independent "armé corps," of the Caucasus and Siberia, the first equal in strength to a whole corps,

the latter to a half one; so that the entire strength of the regular army in peace time amounts to 594,000 men, which at this time is equal to one per cent. of the population, as the Asiatics, and particularly those tribes who serve as irregular troops, are not included in this account.

The fleet consists at present of 48 ships of the line (of 110 to 74 guns), 39 frigates (of 60 to 44 guns), 34 corvettes and brigs (of 28 to 10 guns), 6 cutters, 54 schooners, 35 brigantines and luggars, 25 floating batteries, 15 war steamers, and 121 gun-boats; altogether 367 large and small ships of war, mounting more than 7500 guns. Of these, in the beginning of the year 1839, there belonged to the fleet in the Baltic 13 ships of the line, 8 frigates, 6 corvettes, 10 brigs, 5 brigantines,

3 luggars, 6 steamers, 3 yachts of 10 guns, and 23 transports.

The credit of Russia has improved in foreign markets during the last eight years; from her finances having been put in better order, and from the punctual discharge of her engagements, and that in spite of new loans, constant warlike preparations in the Black Sea, and the expensive operations in Circassia. Her whole terminating annuities and other stock, according to the last account, was, in the year 1839, about £41,000,000, that is, about two and two-third times the annual income of the State, which is a better position than the interest-paying debt of any other great country is in. The yearly income and expenditure must remain very doubtful to the public, as a collective ap-

proximation can only be made by taking separate data from different years; by doing which it appears that, exclusive of Poland, the income was about £18,000,000 sterling; and the usual yearly expenditure would be covered by this; but we only can ascertain in detail the amount of the debt, for which the interest and sinking fund requires yearly near £3,000,000.

THE END.

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